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NATIONAL REVIEW

War and Peacenik

Clinton, and liberalism, in combat

ELLIOTT ABRAMS • ANDREW J. BACEVICH
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PLUS: Charles Murray, Rob Long, Christopher Caldwell, David Pryce-Jones, Kate O'Beirne, Jay Nordlinger

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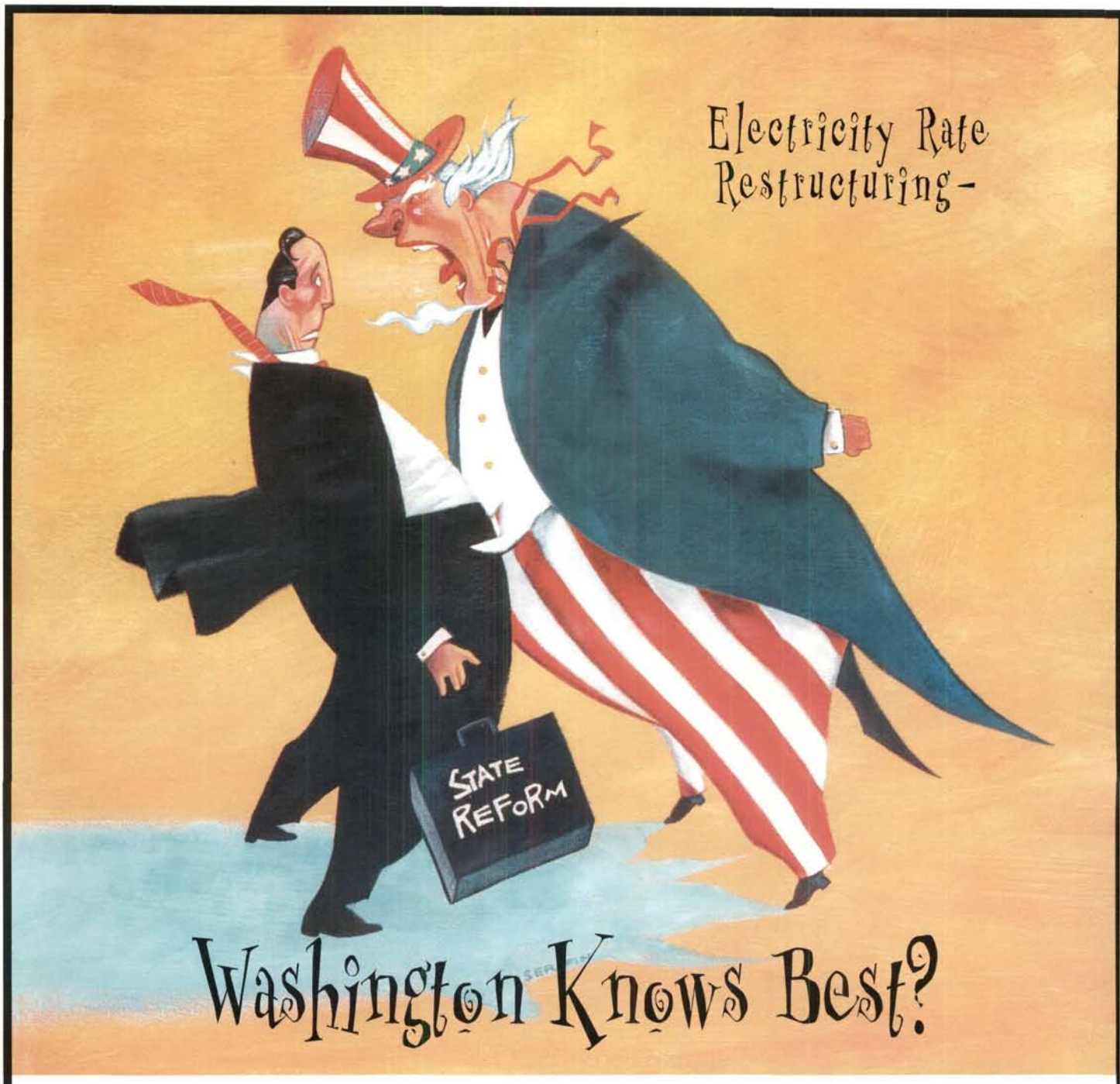

Some members of Congress persist in advocating a "Washington Knows Best" federal mandate when it comes to electricity rate restructuring. These members of Congress still don't trust the States to do what they are already doing so well—bringing competition and choice to consumers.

The ever shifting proposal to nationalize America's electricity rates is still very troubling news for low cost states, where a nationalized marketplace can only mean higher electricity bills!

And the latest patch-quilt proposal to nationalize America's electricity rates remains highly punitive for states that are still deliberating over the design of their state-based reforms. Many states that are debating deregulation would be forced to meet a capricious federal timeline or live forever under a heavy-handed federal regulatory regime.

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ LETTERS ■

HOW BLACK THE BLACKLIST?

Jonathan Foreman's review of *Hollywood Party* by Kenneth Lloyd Billingsley ("Blacklist Whitewash," March 22) is further proof that children should not be asked to evaluate their parents' politics.

While not overtly an exculpation of his father, Carl Foreman, the review is an attack on those whom he feels underestimate the damage done by the so-called blacklisting of Hollywood personalities for their Communist associations. As such, it is an overestimation of that damage and an underestimation of the Communist threat.

Mr. Foreman fails to mention the Communist use of the blacklist to compel obedience to the party line handed down from Moscow. The Albert Maltz affair, so well documented and described in the book, is nowhere to be found in the review. Nor is there any sense of revulsion at the willingness of many of these people to parrot the party line even if it meant being pro-Hitler after the signing of the Hitler–Stalin Pact. And we find no expression of contempt for those who, despite the historic record of murder and enslavement, have felt no need to apologize or attempt to rationalize morally their subservience to Stalin.

Mr. Foreman's is not a review after all. It is an *ad hominem* attack, filled with nasty *obiter dicta*, dissimulation, and a lack of proportion (the book is *not* only about HUAC). He even invokes Victor Navasky's *Naming Names* as a more credible source for understanding this period—proving that his review would have been more at home in *The Nation* than in NATIONAL REVIEW.

Sidney Helfant
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mr. Foreman contends that the Hollywood Reds weren't a real threat because they never made overtly pro-Communist movies. But, as Billingsley explains, the Party was creative. Communist propaganda made its way into films through positive portrayals of the labor movement, hostile portrayals of businessmen, and portraits of the U.S. military as villain. So successful were the Communists that even today the businessman as criminal or cruel oppressor of labor is commonplace on the screen.

Another complaint of Mr. Foreman's is that Hollywood subversion wasn't a "national security" threat. He doesn't get it. For Communists, the war against the U.S. was fought on many levels and on many fronts—the military, diplomacy, even sports. The culture was another of them. Mr. Foreman should be a little more up on the techniques of Communist subversion. I suspect that he cannot grasp the scope of what happened beyond the fact that his father and his pals lost lucrative contracts.

Sadly, Mr. Foreman buys into the myth of those poor, innocent, falsely accused writers and directors who never worked after that. The truth is a little different. Under pseudonyms, the talent had plenty of work. Within the first few years of the so-called blacklist, Dalton Trumbo and Robert Rossen were so oppressed that they had won Oscars.

People who have lately attacked Elia Kazan for naming a few names sound like children who have broken a window—when caught they blame the one who caught them, or the child whose guilty conscience prompted them to tell the truth. Anything but blame themselves for their own conduct.

Brett Moss
Arlington, Va.

If there were powerful subversive messages in the movies made by those nailed by HUAC, they were so devilishly subtle that few people caught them at the time—which makes one wonder at their usefulness in the propaganda war. It is particularly hard to find movies from that period that are anti-military, anti-family, or anti-American. In any case, there is a place for those who think that movies that do anything but proclaim a country's glories are "subversive": Oddly enough, we just bombed their embassy in Belgrade.

Mr. Helfant accuses me of an "ad hominem *attack" filled with nasty* "obiter dicta." *I would suggest that he glance back at his Latin dictionary and then at my article. Nowhere in my review did I attack the author (a man of whom I know nothing). I did, however, criticize his book, for ample reason. And Victor Navasky's* Naming Names *is, in fact, a more credible source on the period, despite the evident bias of its author, because it at least contains genuine scholarship and a thoughtful discussion of the issues, not just bargain-basement ideology.*

A final point: Some American Communists of course did many absurd and even wicked things. Is it genuinely inconceivable that some anti-Communists also did absurd and even wicked things? One of the Left's great lies—that honorable anti-Communism and McCarthyism are the same thing—is harder to refute when ideologues of the Right rehearse that lie themselves. —JF

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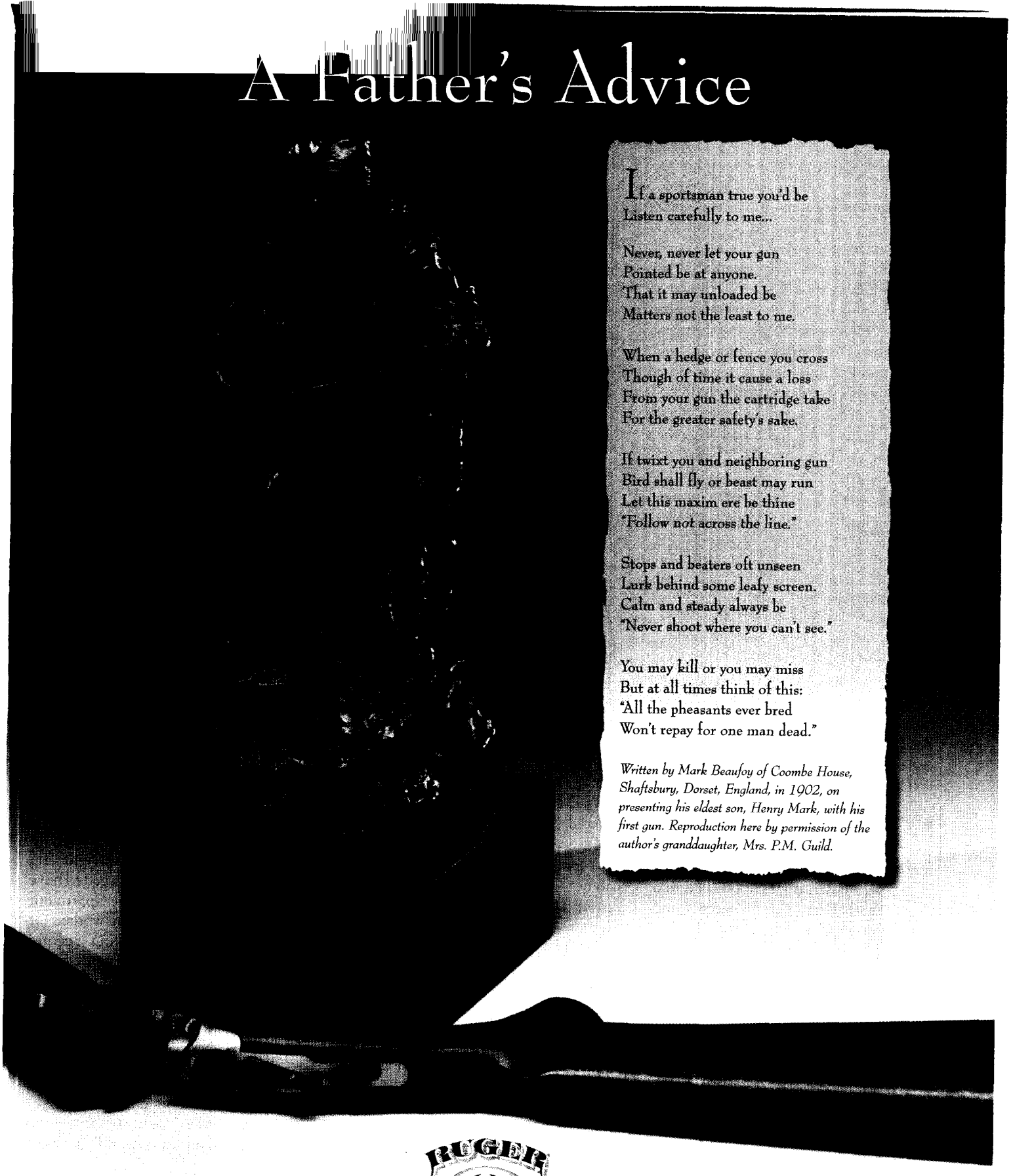
A Father's Advice



If a sportsman true you'd be
Listen carefully to me...

Never, never let your gun
Pointed be at anyone.
That it may unloaded be
Matters not the least to me.

When a hedge or fence you cross
Though of time it cause a loss
From your gun the cartridge take
For the greater safety's sake.

If twixt you and neighboring gun
Bird shall fly or beast may run
Let this maxim ere be thine
"Follow not across the line."

Stops and beaters oft unseen
Lurk behind some leafy screen.
Calm and steady always be
"Never shoot where you can't see."

You may kill or you may miss
But at all times think of this:
"All the pheasants ever bred
Won't repay for one man dead."

Written by Mark Beaufoy of Coombe House, Shaftsbury, Dorset, England, in 1902, on presenting his eldest son, Henry Mark, with his first gun. Reproduction here by permission of the author's granddaughter, Mrs. P.M. Guild.

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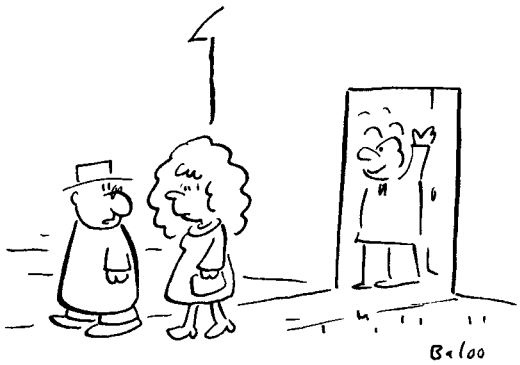
■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ **Hillary Clinton**, introducing president at gun-control event: "Part of growing up is learning how to control one's impulses." . . . "What say we into the open muzzle of this tragedy, cocked and aimed at our hearts?" asks Vice President **Gore** at ceremony following Columbine High School massacre. Several hours later, Gore addresses NAACP in Detroit. "The critics of affirmative action . . . talk about a colorblind society. Give me a break! Hel-lo! They use their 'colorblind' the way duck hunters used their duck blind. They hide behind it and hope the ducks won't figure out what they're up to." . . . Environmental Defense Fund, Natural Resources Defense Council, Sierra Club, and other green groups sign letter to Gore citing "deep disappointment with the lack of an administration proposal to require significant reductions in global-warming pollution." . . . "Someday Earth will be like Mars, because as our planet cools off we'll go through the same changes," NASA's **Steve Maran** tells *USA Today*, after reviewing data collected by Mars Global Surveyor. . . . **Geraldo Rivera** questions **Susan McDougal**: "Did [**Starr**'s prosecutors] help speed your husband's illness and his ultimate death?"

■ CNN/WMUR poll of New Hampshire voters: 37 percent pick Texas governor **George W. Bush** as first choice for GOP presidential nomination, followed by **Elizabeth Dole** with 16 percent and Sen. **John McCain** (Ariz.) with 14 percent. Dole has "lost half her support since our last poll in January," notes WMUR. . . . Bush delays formal announcement until after summer, allowing him to dodge Iowa straw poll on August 14 and avoid making major policy statements, but not inhibiting travel and fundraising. . . . Griffin Strategy Group's *PrimaryScoop* (www.griffinsg.com) reports presidential campaign consultants with highest revenues. Leader is Bush's **Karl Rove** & Co., with $220,225 through March 31. . . . **Jeane Kirkpatrick** endorses Elizabeth Dole. . . . **Steve Forbes**, **Bill Bradley**, and Sen. **Bill Frist**—on Princeton's board of trustees—have no comment on hiring of infanticide advocate **Peter Singer**. . . . McCain, on CNBC's *Hardball*, describing the two duties of a vice president: "One is to inquire daily as to the health of the president, and the other is to go to Third World dictators' funerals."

■ Associated Press reports that 37 recently departed House members handed out nearly $1.5 million in bonuses to staff before leaving office. Most generous was Rep. **Bill Hefner** (D., N.C.), who gave most staffers $10,000. Asked if he thinks it is "right to use money that way," Hefner replies: "I just don't care." . . . In midst of China spy scandal, Sen. **Rod Grams** (R., Minn.) and Rep. **Todd Tiahrt** (R., Kan.) propose abolishing Department of Energy as cabinet-level agency. In *Washington Post* op-ed, **Daniel S. Greenberg** of Johns Hopkins University calls DoE "a legendary sinkhole of bungling and confusion that long ago outlived its original purpose" and "America's most dysfunctional government department." . . . Sen. **Rick Santorum** (R., Pa.) reintroduces bill banning partial-birth abortion. . . . Gov. **Christie Whitman** (R.) and ex-Gov. **Jim Florio** (D.) in dead heat for 2000 N.J. Senate race, with conservative radio host **Bob Grant** garnering 14 percent, according to Schroth & Associates poll.



"Be honest with me, Martha—am I really a jolly good fellow?"

■ **Geoffrey Fieger**, onetime lawyer for **Jack Kevorkian** and Democratic nominee for governor of Michigan last year, races to Littleton, Colo., and plans wrongful-death lawsuit on behalf of slain student's family. . . . Baltimore Orioles owner **Peter Angelos** bans Immigration and Naturalization Service officers from ballpark during exhibition game against Cuban national team, an effort to prevent defections. Pitching coach seeks asylum anyway. . . . Officials in Manhattan, Kan., remove granite tablet engraved with Ten Commandments from City Hall site, where it had been on display for more than 40 years, following ACLU lawsuit. . . . Cardinal Newman Society urges Catholic colleges to cancel pro-choice graduation speakers, including Bill Bradley (Mount St. Clare College, Iowa), ex-representative Rev. **Robert Drinan** (St. John's University Law School, Ind.), author **Garry Wills** (Niagara University, N.Y.), and NBC's **Tom Brokaw** (College of Santa Fe, N.M.), who in an interview declared the issue of abortion "comes down to whether a woman has a right to control her own body."

■ Georgian president **Eduard Shevardnadze**, former KGB official and Soviet foreign minister, announces his country will actively seek NATO membership. . . . Poland will spend $2.5 million in 1999 on repatriation of Poles from Kazakhstan deported there by Communists in 1930s and 1940s. . . . Wealthy Austrian family demands secretary of state **Madeleine Albright** and relatives return paintings alleged to have been removed from Prague apartment by Albright's father when he worked for Czech government following Second World War. . . . Russian customs officials confiscate half a ton of elephant tusks from baggage of North Korean diplomat's wife. . . . **Mireya Moscoso**, widow of leftist politician, wins Panama's presidency and will preside over transfer of Panama Canal ownership from United States to Panama at end of year. . . . World Resources Institute puts nine Chinese cities on list of world's 10 most polluted.

■ Father of baby boy born to Kosovar refugees shortly after arriving at Fort Dix, N.J., promises to name son "America." Comments *New York Post*: "Lucky he didn't go to Turkey." **NR**

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THE WEEK

■ So NATO mistakenly bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. How will Vice President Gore explain *this* at the next temple fundraiser?

■ The damage estimate for Chinese espionage at our nuclear laboratories keeps growing. Beijing obtained, among other things, our "legacy codes"—computer codes that are the distillation of more than a half-century of American research on how to perfect nuclear weapons. The information will certainly come in handy, as China is known to be upgrading its nukes at an accelerated pace. On another front, a Senate Intelligence Committee report concludes that U.S. companies aiding Chinese satellite launches did indeed help China improve its rocket capabilities, including ICBMs. The administration's response to these revelations? Al Gore has emphasized that the espionage occurred during past administrations, and Bill Clinton has denied ever having been told about the espionage. (But in fact, he was briefed as early as July 1997.) If only the administration were as concerned about national security as it is about its political security.

■ Energy secretary Bill Richardson has unveiled one particularly unsavory element of the administration's defense: playing the race card. Speaking to an Asian-American group, Richardson condemned the "racism" of proposals in Congress to bar foreigners from visiting sensitive research labs. "It happened back during World War II," he said, "when Japanese-Americans were uprooted from their homes and forced into internment camps." And it could happen again: "Those who have questioned the patriotism of Asian Pacific Americans are also sowing seeds of a darker xenophobia." No such charge can be laid against this administration: Nuclear secrets are available on an equal-opportunity basis.

■ Seeing how well his non-campaign is going, George W. Bush has evidently decided to extend it until fall. This strategy is much too coy. Together with the rush of Republican officialdom to endorse him—the Hill leadership is all but openly boasting of its close collaboration with him—it suggests a fear of debate and open competition. But competition hones candidates as it does companies. With the primary schedule already too compressed, it is all the more important that Bush begin to outline his agenda once the Texas legislative session ends in late spring. Lying low may well fail even on its own low terms: The longer Bush waits to speak, the more even his supporters might begin to suspect he has nothing to say.

■ Elizabeth Dole's pollster calls her candidate "courageous." That courage, however, consists of calling for a ban on automatic weapons ("I don't think you need an AK-47 to defend your family") and supporting Clinton's ban on "assault weapons." Since automatic weapons have been essentially illegal since 1934 and "assault weapons" are a category made up by the gun-control lobby and differ from other guns in no important respect, one might call this position less courageous than confused. Or calculated: Mrs. Dole also took a dig at that bogeyman, the NRA, which she dubbed a "special interest" that should not dominate her party. This is almost certainly a miscalculation. A CBS poll taken after the Littleton killings showed that Americans, far from uniformly detesting the NRA, are evenly divided (42 percent view it favorably, 42 percent unfavorably). And while Mrs. Dole's move has earned the praise of Rosie O'Donnell and Maureen Dowd, neither woman will be voting in the New Hampshire Republican primary. Such are the perils of taking your bearings from the elite media.

■ Jesse Jackson has been up to one of his favorite activities: paying court to anti-American dictators, and taking away prisoners as a tip. He did it in the Eighties with Hafez Assad, retrieving a downed U.S. airman, and with Fidel Castro, who released two dozen detainees. Now the touring company has visited Belgrade. In how many ways is this wrong? *Morally*. Jackson treats Milosevic as the peer of his victims, and of Bill Clinton, just as he put Assad and Castro on a plane with Ronald Reagan. *Diplomatically*. The Logan Act was passed in the 1790s when George Logan, a Philadelphia Quaker, tried to mediate Franco–American tensions on his own. The arguments against private diplomacy have not changed in 200 years: It sends mixed signals, and tends to reduce substance to symbols. *Humanely*. But isn't it better for prisoners to go home? In the case of civilians, almost always (almost, because some of Castro's freed prisoners were common drug runners). But soldiers risk danger when they enlist. Not that Jesse Jackson has ever supported, or understood, the military.

■ In the middle of a review of Henry Kissinger's *Years of Renewal* for the *Washington Monthly*, Jacob Heilbrunn took a break from bashing Kissinger to bash Ronald Reagan: "But how much attention did Reagan himself pay to throw-weights and circular error probability of missiles? Probably as little attention as he paid to Education Secretary Samuel 'Hello, Mr. Mayor' Pierce." Actually, Pierce was secretary of housing and urban development. A little carelessness seems forgivable in a man who was busy winning the Cold War. What's Heilbrunn's excuse?

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It's the face of Connie Pierce. She's married to her high school sweetheart, has twin daughters and a job she loves. She has also been fighting multiple sclerosis (MS) for a decade. She credits family support, a sense of humor and advances in medicines from America's pharmaceutical companies with helping to dramatically slow the progression of her MS. Pharmaceutical company researchers continue to make breakthroughs and won't stop until there's a cure. So people like Connie can live and love and laugh for years to come.

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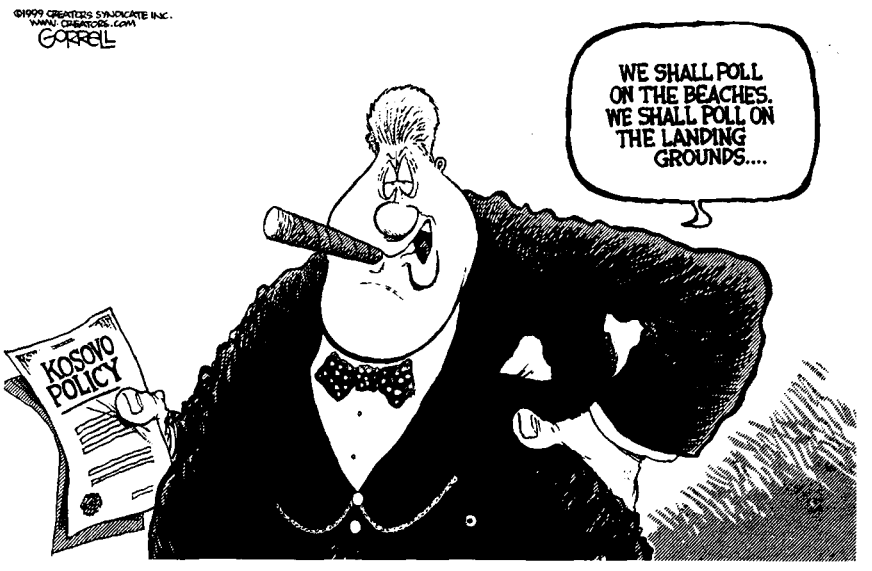
■ Monica Lewinsky has now been granted that ultimate validation of celebrity: an appearance on *Saturday Night Live*. Her antics were both irritating and sad. She participated in the usual jokes about phone sex, but she also lashed out at Linda Tripp, for her weight and her unpopularity. As to the first subject, Monica, by the look of her, would do well to keep mum. As to the second, she is no doubt right that Tripp is "the most despised woman in America." Tripp, who would not lie and told the truth, is an outcast. Monica, who made herself party to a web of lies, is practically the toast of New York. The Clintonites accused Tripp of being book- and spotlight-hungry. But it is Monica who has a bestseller and hobnobs with stars. Funny. But not really.

■ Critics of welfare reform have been saying that the strong economy is responsible for reduced welfare rolls. But a new study by Robert Rector and Sarah Youssef of the Heritage Foundation shows that economic conditions cannot explain why some states have been much more successful than others at moving people off welfare. States with the toughest work requirements had a 41.8 percent average reduction in caseloads. States with weak requirements averaged only a 17.3 percent decline. And these reductions have not been accompanied, as liberals hysterically predicted, by any increase in the child-poverty rate. We will all have to face it: Welfare reform is working.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KOSOVO POLICY
WE SHALL POLL ON THE BEACHES. WE SHALL POLL ON THE LANDING GROUNDS....

■ In NR's last issue, John J. DiIulio Jr. called on New York governor George Pataki to "radically reform or repeal" laws requiring sentences of 15 years to life for selling as little as two to four ounces of illegal narcotics ("Against Mandatory Minimums," May 17). Pataki has now proposed giving appellate judges the power to reduce minimum sentences to ten years—a flexibility intended to benefit "mules," or couriers, who account for about half of the 640 prisoners serving these sentences. The Pataki proposal is hardly radical (DiIulio would give judges still wider latitude and not limit discretion to appeals). But it is a step in the direction of rethinking the drug laws.

■ Democrats such as Bill Bradley are pining for the days of "big ideas." David Broder has one: a proposal by two Yale law professors to give every 18-year-old high-school graduate $80,000. The professors would finance this largesse by a 2 percent wealth tax for 50 years, and after that by taking $80,000 from the estates of the original beneficiaries. Where to begin? This proposal would reduce the incentive for youngsters to work and for seniors to save; raise the price of anything bought disproportionately by young people, from college educations to alcohol; and, by reducing capital accumulation, stifle the growth of productivity and thus wages. Capital flight from America would start even before the bill became law, almost certainly prompting a collapse of the dollar and U.S. stock and bond markets. So there's the liberals' new big idea: a major financial crisis followed by wage stagnation and social disruption. A salutary reminder that most big ideas are bad ones.

■ Boris Yeltsin continues in his erratic ways. He abruptly axed his prime minister, Yevgeny Primakov, and he blusters on about Kosovo. In his latest outburst he accused NATO of "naked aggression" and warned that "the shadow of war is hanging over Europe." Russian bitterness is one of the costs of the Kosovo war. But the administration has chosen the wrong remedy. Rather than winning the war and then bringing Russia in on our terms, as in Bosnia, we are encouraging Russian mediation to bring the conflict to a muddled end. To lose a war in Russia's backyard will win not its goodwill but its contempt.

■ Few scholars in America are more gratifying than John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, who have chronicled the story of Soviet espionage in this country through the "Venona" documents—wartime cables from the USSR decoded by the National Security Agency and revealed to the public four years ago. Haynes and Klehr have forced second thoughts among the intelligentsia by proving that American Communists were far more willing to betray their country for Stalin than generally supposed. Their latest book is *Venona*. In the *New York Times Book Review*, Maurice Isserman, a historian of the old revisionist school, which (to put it mildly) soft-pedaled the treason of American Communists, wrote, "There is still room for honest debate about many aspects of the history of American Communism." But about the involvement of homegrown Reds in Soviet espionage, "there are no longer grounds for serious disagreement. Facts are stubborn things." Indeed they are. Haynes and Klehr, Isserman conceded, "deserve the gratitude of other historians"—and of us all.

■ The gay activist and founder of Act Up, Larry Kramer, is hawking the theory that Abraham Lincoln and youthful friend Joshua Speed were lovers. They shared a bed for four years—common enough among struggling single men in fron-

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tier towns—and their correspondence was notably affectionate. Kramer, and another gayologist, C. A. Tripp, claim to have found a missing Speed diary with more "evidence." The great sand trap for all such speculations is the inflation of old rhetoric. The 20th century exalts cool; the 19th and even the 18th prized "sentiment." Not that such considerations will slow down Kramer or other gay propagandists. When are they going to claim SA founder Ernst Röhm?

■ In *The American Scholar*, James Trilling, an art historian, seeks the secret spring of his father, the literary critic Lionel Trilling, in attention deficit disorder. "All my father's personality flaws," James Trilling writes, and much of his work, were symptoms of ADD. So add this to the burgeoning literature of pathography—the modern genre in which authors tear down their subjects. Boswell knew of Johnson's depressions, twitches, and disfigurement; he did not use them to explain away his career. The latest trend in such works is a kind of symbolic parricide: My life is fascinating; my woes are fascinating; my parents caused them all. (James Trilling has ADD.) For years Joseph Epstein ran *The American Scholar* with literary and intellectual distinction. When he was moved out, anxious conservatives discerned a purge and predicted a slide of standards. We were right.

■ The Treasury Department unveiled its design for the new $1 coin on May 4. As expected, Sacagawea, the Lewis and Clark guide, will appear on the coin. Feminists had fought to keep the Statue of Liberty off the coin in favor of a "real woman." Now there's talk of eliminating the dollar bill, which would add to the Left's cultural triumph: the image of an Indian girl whose life—including her dates of birth and death and even her tribe—is shrouded in mystery replacing the familiar likeness of America's patriarch, George Washington.

■ After Berkeley announced budget cuts for its famed ethnic-studies program, over 100 students occupied a building, leading to a ten-hour standoff with campus police, broken windows, and 46 arrests. The university offered a compromise. Six students responded by declaring a hunger strike, kicking off eight days of demonstrations and 83 more arrests. Berkeley responded by promising eight full-time ethnic-studies professorships, a "multicultural student center," $100,000 for a race-and-gender-studies research center, and an "ethnic-studies mural." Students say this is only the beginning. Those Berkeley kids sure have this college thing figured out.

■ Pamela Anderson, as all the world knows, had . . . an operation. When she was discovered, picked out by a roving camera at a football game, she was a lovely young woman. She became a sex symbol: *Playboy* centerfold, *Baywatch* beach candy, XXX attraction on the Internet. Along the way she molded herself to fit the mask, adding implants, rearranging her face, and ironically becoming less good-looking. Now, she says, "I just want my natural body back." A possible sign of hope, at least on her part. The culture of sexual celebrity to which she offered herself remains the same.

Tony Blair's Scotland

Devolution's hard to stop,
Like a pregnancy.
Some day Edinburgh will pop
And the Scots will be
Dumping England's sing-along
For a proper highland song
As some Stuart leads the throng—
Or Sean Connery.

—W. H. von Dreele

■ After 16 seasons with the Denver Broncos, ending with two Super Bowl victories, John Elway has retired. Sports figures affect us powerfully, chiefly because they enact the general fate. An athlete such as Elway, the number-one draft pick coming out of college, emerges all possibility, so to speak born into sports. Then we witness the ascending curve of his achievement. But as in life itself, he is battered along the way, in legendary episodes and, as with Elway, supreme achievement. He dies as an athlete, but gains immortality in the Hall of Fame. Many athletes then fade into a kind of nonexistence. Years later, their second death reminds us that they once lived, and we renew our mourning, for them and for ourselves.

■ The score of the baseball game in Baltimore: CUBA, 12; ORIOLES, 6; DEFECTORS, 1.

KOSOVO

A War Without Heroes

The outlines of a deal with Slobodan Milosevic are coming into view. NATO's demands are being "degraded," to use the peculiar parlance of this peculiar war. The alliance is willing to concede Milosevic's sovereignty over Kosovo, to disarm what is left of the Kosovo Liberation Army, to stop the bombing when Milosevic has "demonstrably begun" to implement a settlement. It will let the U.N. Security Council, including the Russians and Chinese, determine how to protect the Albanian Kosovars. These concessions, it should be noted, have been made in advance of any negotiation with Milosevic; the Western allies have been negotiating with one another and the Russians. Now the allies are debating whether to halt the bombing once negotiations start or even beforehand, though it is almost inconceivable that the West would have the will to resume the bombing once stopped. No wonder Russian envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin said that the latest declaration of Western aims represented "a good deal for Milosevic."

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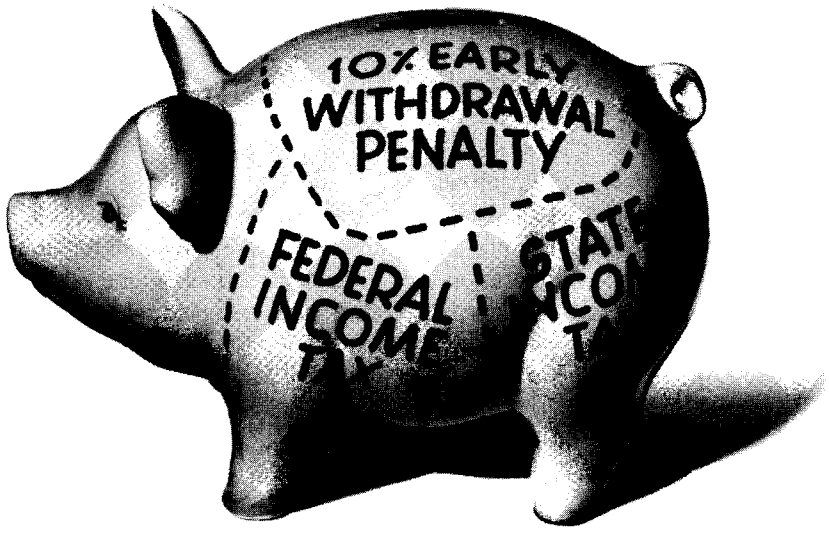

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Milosevic, for his part, can happily accede to withdrawing most of his army and police from Kosovo, having already smashed the KLA. He can accept some toothless international monitoring force and even invite the refugees to come back: He knows most of them will not, absent NATO protection, and the few who do will be useful as hostages. He also knows that the Clinton administration is eager for any deal confusing enough to be spun as a success. (Even now it pleads for the diplomatic help of Russia, not known for its concern for the lives of Kosovars or the interests of NATO.) Prepare for a denouement of dishonor.

That dishonor began when the administration decided to will the ends of war but not the means or even the name. This is an administration that refuses power rather than accept responsibility. Senators McCain and Biden offered a resolution supporting the use of all necessary force, including ground troops, to defeat the Serbs, and the administration opposed it—which would be astonishing if anything about this administration could still astonish.

But the administration's irresponsibility has been matched by that of the Republicans in Congress, whose hostility to Clinton has led them to become in this respect his mirror image. There are, of course, good arguments on both sides of the question, whether to persist in the Balkans. We ourselves would be willing to accept a deal ceding some territory from Kosovo to Serbia in exchange for real protection of the Albanian Kosovars. What is impossible to defend is a Congress that refuses either to support the airstrikes or to call for a withdrawal.

And what is alarming is not the *fact* of conservative opposition to the war but its *tone*. Republicans have been praising Jesse Jackson's freelance diplomacy and quoting John Lennon's geopolitical credo. Conservative columnists have blamed the Serbs' slaughter on America for trying, as one put it, "to force the Serbs into the de facto surrender of their sovereign territory." Congressmen who are quick to denounce judicial activism have run to the courthouse to ask a federal judge to set foreign policy, and embraced a War Powers Act that every president has rightly opposed as unconstitutional. Trent Lott has adopted the diction of a high-school guidance counselor, urging Clinton to respond to Milosevic with "words, not weapons"—as though this president had ever needed encouragement on that score. Finally, they mutter that Clinton will capitulate—that is, take their advice.

The Jesse Jackson Republicans have seemed more interested in taking advantage of a U.S. defeat than in explaining how to avert one. If that defeat occurs, it will indeed be a time to savage the administration for its lack of moral and strategic seriousness. All too many Republicans, alas, have forfeited their right to do so.

OOPS

So-long, Chinese embassy:
Peace, which seemed at hand,
Fades like Ozymandias
In the blowing sand.
Yeltsin's looking out of sorts.
China's in a snit.
Gore, stuck in suburban sprawl,
Staggered just a bit.

—W. H. VON DREELE

EDUCATION

A Crack in the Wall

PLANS for school vouchers are taking shape all over America. In Florida, Gov. Jeb Bush and the Republican state legislature agreed on a plan to let children in the state's worst public schools attend private schools (including religious ones) with state-paid tuition. Bush argued that the status quo was failing Florida's students: "[Only] half our kids graduate from high school. Half are reading below basic levels in the fourth grade." New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani proposed a two-year pilot program to send 3,000 poor kids a year to private schools (again, including religious ones). "This is an idea whose time has come," Giuliani declared, adding that he would like to "blow up" the city's board of education.

The many enemies of vouchers continue to see them as a bad idea whose time is never. New York schools chancellor Rudy Crew called the whole discussion "divisive" and "dysfunctional," "a form of giving up" on public schools. The teachers' unions oppose any idea that threatens their job base. The ACLU resists any program that might funnel public money into the coffers of prelates. Though the Supreme Court refused to hear a challenge to Milwaukee's voucher program, Maine's highest court struck down vouchers in that state.

Preliminary research based on the existing voucher programs in Milwaukee and parts of Ohio suggests that they are indeed raising student performance. It remains true that private schools are cheaper to run, safer, and educationally superior to their government-run counterparts. But parents don't need to pore over the studies; they're voting with their feet. When billionaire Ted Forstmann offered scholarships for 40,000 poor children, he got 1.25 million applications. None of the plans on the table can do the whole job. Since Florida's is targeted at failing schools, kids being failed by only marginally better schools will be ineligible. Since all the plans are means-tested, middle-class parents who want to look beyond the public schools will still be socked with the double burden of tuition and taxation.

But unhappiness with the public school system is widespread. Any alternatives will benefit those who can take advantage of them. Ultimately, they will benefit the public schools too, as former Atlanta mayor Andrew Young, a board member of Forstmann's project, pointed out. "Has competition from Federal Express 'destroyed' the government postal service, or has the latter indeed become better, faster, more innovative in

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response?" It is the education of the public that should matter to us, not where it takes place.

CULTURE WATCH

Adult Supervision

We live in an age of doublespeak. "Outcome-based education" refers to educational programs that *avoid*, precisely, testing outcomes. So perhaps it should not be surprising that under the guise of talking about responsibility, what many are actually doing is avoiding it.

A jury in Pontiac, Michigan, recently ordered *The Jenny Jones Show* to pay $25 million to the family of Scott Amedure, a man murdered by Jonathan Schmitz after revealing on the show a sexual attraction for him. But Schmitz pulled the trigger on his own, and he alone should be punished for it. The appropriate punishment for the vulgarity of talk shows is declining ratings—one that viewers have inflicted on these shows since the Amedure killing.

But the promiscuous assignment of blame is not confined to that jury. In the wake of the Columbine massacre, Bill Clinton proposed to hold parents responsible for crimes committed by their children with their guns. This is fatuous: Does anyone really think that parents will become more diligent in overseeing their children because of this law? Clinton also met with entertainment-industry executives, gun makers, and many others at the White House to probe the "causes" of violence.

But of course our culture's failure to hold individuals fully responsible for their own acts is one such cause, albeit one of which this president is understandably fond. Instead of raising the age of legal gun ownership, then, lawmakers should lower the age at which juvenile criminals can be tried as adults—or at least begin treating adults as adults again.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: In a recent *New York Post* article, Senator Schumer was quoted about his meeting with Mrs. Clinton as saying, "I'm keeping the specifics of our meeting between she and I."

May the relationship between she and he remain platonically political.

David A. Powers
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Powers: Speaking of impeachable offenses!

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Here's additional proof that the ACLU is in charge of our court system:

Earlier this year, James Arnett, 33, of Cincinnati, was sentenced by Judge Melba Marsh to 51 years in prison (half the minimum) for raping an 8-year-old girl ten times. In her sentencing, Judge Marsh quoted the Bible, specifically Matthew 18: 5–6, to wit:

> And whosoever shall receive one such little child in my name, receiveth me. But whosoever shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.

Apparently, this offended the delicate sensibilities of the rapist and his lawyer, so they appealed. Appeals-court judges Mark Painter and Rupert Doan overturned Judge Marsh's decision because she used the Bible for guidance in sentencing, saying that it violated Arnett's "rights." Arnett's lawyer not only wants another trial, but a different judge.

I don't usually agree with the French on anything, but I'm forced to second the idea of the Parisian editorial writer who wrote some time ago that the United States is no longer even marginally sane or remotely rational.

Sincerely,
Robert Kissel
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Mr. Kissel: Some lawyer. Some court. Some (alleged) constitutional ruling.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Re the March 8 NATIONAL REVIEW cover story: *Earth in the Balance* by Al Gore can truly be called an allegory: a story or narrative, as a fable, in which a moral principle or abstract truth is presented by means of fictional characters, events, etc.

Could we call all of Al's writings "Al Goreys"?

Sincerely,
Philip Lange, MD
Beaver Island, Mich.

Dear Dr. Lange: Thanks, but no thanks. *No thanks!*

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: With regard to Mr. Kleker's refinement of your comment that "A and B decide how much C should give to D," etc., both you and he have forgotten a key factor in the equation.

A and B will not only decide how much C should give to D, etc., but A and B will retain a large portion (under this administration, over 22 percent) of that distribution for themselves as a service fee (read *tax*).

They will also undoubtedly charge D, E, and F another portion of their receipts at each distribution step. When questioned about the need for so excessive a service fee, they will promise that any excess will go to fund X's, Y's, and Z's children's retirement, while actually creating a new entitlement for socialized medical services that will eventually consume not only the service fee, but C's savings, and those of D, E, F, etc.

Best regards,
Joseph Hayes
North Potomac, Md.

Dear Mr. Hayes: Thanks for that elucidation.

Cordially, WFB

—WFB

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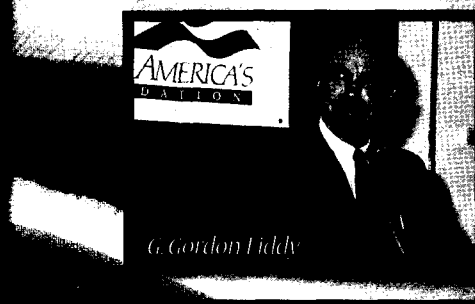

YOUNG AMERICA'S

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■ CAMPAIGN 2000 ■

The Sincere Demagogue

A Knick, a knight, and a nuisance.

JAY NORDLINGER

FORMER senator Bill Bradley, Al Gore's sole challenger for the Democratic presidential nomination, has a message for you pale types out there: He knows better about race; he has infinitely more compassion and sensitivity than you; and if you only cared about your fellow man as much as he, we could live in a decent country. Chances are, you haven't "struggled with race" all of your life, as he has. You haven't been able to see the awful fact of your "skin privilege." And you certainly didn't play for the New York Knicks, which would have afforded you a chance to "live in a black world."

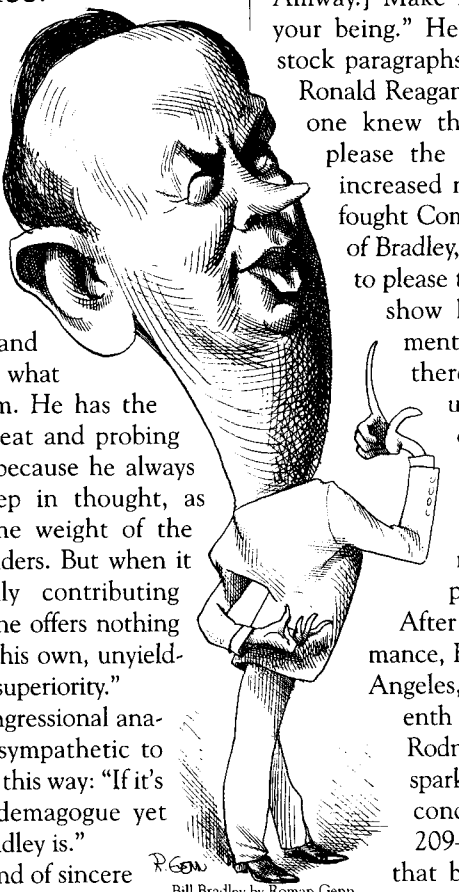
If you think Bill Clinton and his vice president are self-righteous and sanctimonious about race—wait'll you get a load of Bradley.

One thing Bradley says is absolutely true: He has talked about race from the beginning of his career, never stopping. He is forever saying that he "speaks from the heart"—this statement is a "cry from the heart"; that one is "straight from the heart"; why can't the rest of us summon the "courage" to speak from our own "hearts"? His admirers say that his passion on the issue is genuine, and this is no doubt true. But he has the tendency, in the words of one close observer, to imagine that he is "the only truth-teller in all the world." A former colleague notes that Bradley is "obsessed" with race, but almost "frozen in time," as if he had fallen asleep in 1968. For him, there has never been any neoconservative critique: no Charles Murray, no Thernstroms—not even the early Daniel Patrick Moynihan. In Bradley's mind, it often seems, drinking fountains are still separate, little girls in pretty dresses are being blown up in churches, and Bull Connor's dogs continue to bark.

Facts, says one who has attempted to engage him, scarcely matter to him. "He is all sentimentality and emotion. If you argue to him, for example, the effects of illegitimacy on black poverty, he will look at you blankly or mock-sadly and come back with . . . what else? White racism. He has the reputation of a great and probing thinker, probably because he always looks serious, deep in thought, as though he had the weight of the world on his shoulders. But when it comes to actually contributing something useful, he offers nothing but banalities and his own, unyielding sense of moral superiority."

One veteran congressional analyst, not at all unsympathetic to Bradley, sums it up this way: "If it's possible to be a demagogue yet utterly sincere, Bradley is."

That special brand of sincere demagoguery is on ample display as Bradley campaigns throughout the country. On April 20, he gave a widely applauded speech at New York's Cooper Union, where Lincoln delivered a famous anti-slavery address. It was a typical Bradley race speech, long on the personal, the trite, and the unspecific. He talked about his "Aunt Bub," a Missouri racist who often embarrassed her illustrious nephew—employing the worst epithets, for example—but who, it was discovered at her funeral, had a friendship with a black woman. (Let it not be said that Al Gore is the only candidate who makes public examples of dead relations.) Bradley announced that "I care about vanquishing racial discord from our hearts and spirit" and railed, as usual, against "white skin privilege," a "great blind spot" that, among other things, renders white Americans unreasonably hostile to affirmative action.



Bill Bradley by Roman Genn

Bradley's rhetoric tends to go by in a haze of piety and pomposity. In New York, he urged a glorious racial reaching out, saying, "Start with your life and the life of a friend. Go from there to your parents, your dorm, your club, your team, and more friends. [No, this is not Amway.] Make racial unity a part of your being." He included one of his stock paragraphs, which goes, "When Ronald Reagan was president, everyone knew that if you wanted to please the boss, you cut taxes, increased military spending, and fought Communism." In the Age of Bradley, however, "if you want to please the boss, you'll have to show how, in your department or agency, you've furthered tolerance and understanding." What does he have in mind, apart from Clintonian quota-filling? He won't say. He intends to keep mum about his policy positions until fall.

After his New York performance, Bradley traveled to Los Angeles, to speak on the seventh anniversary of the first Rodney King verdict, which sparked that city's riots. He condemned Proposition 209—the ballot initiative that banned preferences in public institutions—as an example of "wedge politics used to fan the flames of suspicion." In South Carolina, he called for the removal of the Confederate flag from the state capitol, which many in the media hailed as "bold." Yet a conservative Republican governor had backed that action three years before. "When I was in the Senate," Bradley bragged, "I would take . . . volatile issues like race and play to our greater interest"; but Gore, that model of temperateness, had been "more cautious."

Bradley was born in 1943 and came to political awareness as the American racial cauldron was at a boil. Robert Kennedy made a profound impression on him—"He asked us to excel at being human"—as did Martin Luther King. His professional-basketball experience, too, had an undeniable effect. In this, he is similar to Jack Kemp, the old quarterback, of whom Newt Gingrich once

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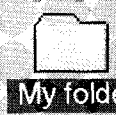

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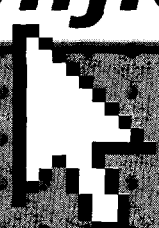

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admiringly quipped, "He has showered with more black people than most Republicans have ever even met." Both Bradley and Kemp seem to treat their former careers as a special ticket to higher understanding. A couple of years ago, they delivered a joint lecture in Houston, which must have been one of the most self-congratulatory events in history. They denounced the *Hopwood* decision—which undermined preferences in Texas—as "tragic."

Over the years, Bradley gained a reputation for being "thoughtful," the word most frequently applied to him. After the L.A. riots, for instance, *Time* magazine went to him—he rained abuse on President Bush—and, in a photo caption, labeled him "a foot wiser than most pols." Yet Bradley seldom serves up more than left-liberal pap. On affirmative action, he will brook no dissent whatsoever, nor even grant the humanity of the dissenter. He wrote three years ago, "The word 'racist' is overused. Most people aren't brimming over with hatred. [So far, so calm.] To say that someone who opposes affirmative action is racist denies the possibility that the person may just be ignorant"! That's about as generous as Bradley can get—and this was in the context of urging an open and brotherly discussion.

He then sketched out his view of recent history. Reagan, he claimed, "denied that there was any discrimination in America, much less racism." Then came Bush, who was "a little better," but who botched it with Clarence Thomas, "who, in an odd twist, turned the clock back." As for efforts against affirmative action, "it is important to see how similar they are to the legal justification for segregation in the 19th century." In this he cited the "brilliant" Kimberle Crenshaw of Columbia Law School, a pioneer in "critical race theory" who aided Anita Hill in her assault on Thomas. Crenshaw is one of Bradley's preferred race experts, as is Derrick Bell, the professor who quit Harvard in a huff nine years ago over insufficient "diversity." Even as Bradley has zero patience for right-of-center arguments—at a time when no less than Andrew Young has embraced school vouchers—he aligns himself with the most extreme thinkers on such matters.

Of course, he opposed the nomination of Robert Bork to the Court, questioning—no surprise here—the contents of the judge's "heart": "Is he sensitive to human and racial problems?" Bradley answered no and voted against Bork because, as he explained with characteristic humility, "I doubt that he has the commitment to civil rights and individual liberties on which the decency and well-being of our American community depends."

Nor is Bradley averse to a little public melodrama. After the Rodney King verdict, he took to the Senate floor to bang his pencil on his desk 56 times—once for each of the blows struck against King by the Los Angeles police—while intoning, "Pow, pow, pow . . ." Bradley, who often decries "stereotyping," "scapegoating," and "fingerpointing," simply assumed that it was "easier for an all-white jury to put themselves in the shoes of a white police officer than in the position of Rodney King."

Bradley's tirade against President Bush was unforgettable for its nastiness, arrogance, and absurdity.

His crowning moment, however—a moment of which he remains manifestly proud—had occurred on July 10, 1991, when he delivered another speech on the Senate floor, this one billed as an "open letter" to President Bush. He ripped into Bush as though he were not a gracious, if awkward, Eastern patrician, but a hate-spewing, schoolhouse-door-blocking George C. Wallace. Bush had expressed reservations about the 1991 Civil Rights Act (which he eventually signed), causing Bradley to fear that the president would use race as a club in the following year's campaign. As Bradley would later record, "something in me snapped." He knew that "most independent voters and liberal Republicans did not consider themselves racist." As for conservatives—well, that was a closed question.

Bradley's speech is one of the nastiest, most arrogant, most absurd public utterances in memory. "Racial tension," he began, without irony, "is too dangerous to exploit." He demanded of Bush that he "tell us how you have worked through the issue of race in your own life"—without benefit of "speechwriter abstractions." (This from a man who would go on to speak such sentences as, "Do you believe silence will muffle the gunshots of rising racial violence in our cities?") His analysis of Republican political success is shocking to read even today. The Republicans, Bradley explained, are the party of the rich, the Democrats the party of the middle class and poor. Everyone knows that. So "how could the majority of voters have supported governments whose primary achievement was to make the rich richer?" Exactly: "The answer lies in the strategy and tactics" of the Republicans. They "interjected race into campaigns, to play on new fears and old prejudices, to drive a wedge through the middle class, to pry off a large enough portion to win." That's it: Republicans had induced ordinary Americans to subvert their own economic interests through race hatred.

Bradley then linked Bush explicitly to, yes, George Wallace, along with the Klansman and Nazi David Duke, asserting that all three had baited voters with color. Thus did Bush wield a "power that has been acquired through sowing the seeds of racial division." If further proof of Bush's villainy were needed, he had consented to serve as Reagan's vice president: "For eight years, there was an assault on American civility and fair play, and you went along!" the senator thundered. At the end of this amazingly unhinged diatribe, he assured the president that he meant nothing political: It was just "a cry from my heart."

Bradley, for his many faults, has seized on a major truth: Race is the bane of American existence, and no balm would be cooler on the national skin than racial reconciliation. Yet he is an unpromising healer. Like his rival, Gore, from whom he is trying to distinguish himself, he is enthralled by his own virtue. At his best, he is tolerable—even thoughtful. But at his worst, he succumbs to a vision of himself as the lone white knight in an odious and venal land. And when he gets into that mode, there's no chance of reasoning with him: The rest of you honkies might as well be wearing sheets. **NR**

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MILLIONS OF LAW-ABIDING AMERICANS OWN FIREARMS. If you're not a gunowner yourself, chances are someone you trust is: a neighbor, a co-worker, a friend or a relative.

But in the last few years, you've been asked to believe some very dangerous things about your fellow Americans, just because they own guns for protection and recreation. You've been told they're "bad," and "different;" that they're not like you, and that they are responsible for all sorts of things from crime to accidents to the insane behavior of a few individuals.

Because you've been told to believe those things, millions of Americans like you have had their rights denied or delayed, with the excuse that you are being "protected" from other Americans just like you.

In the last few years, most of the action has come in the form of government regulation or interpretation of laws. These regulations have been enacted against Americans not in the sunshine of democracy, but in the shadow of bureaucracy. There is little or no recourse for your fellow Americans. Gunowners are denied one of the most basic rights: the right to state their case, not just to legislators, but to other Americans.

A dangerous new front has now been opened against all Americans with the intention of several big city mayors to abandon their duties to their citizens to find reasonable and just solutions to crime. Instead, these mayors prefer to rely on contigency-fee crazed lawyers uninterested in rights, justice or common sense.

Time after time, statistics by independent researchers have shown that American gunowners are not the problem.

They do not break the law when they seek the legal means to own a gun. They are not, and have never been, the problem. The research shows just the opposite: in states where citizens are accorded the right to own and carry a firearm for personal protection, crime rates are lower—much lower—than in places that enact strict control of law-abiding Americans—places like Washington, DC, and Chicago.

Common sense tells you that if crime flourishes, if rapes, assaults, robberies and even murder, are higher in places that deny people just like you the means to self-protection and the protection of their homes and families, then, at the very least, American gunowners are not the problem. It is a dangerous experiment to remove freedoms, one by one, in exchange for the broken promise of safety.

It's always been easier to blame people, especially if you isolate them with labels and name-calling, for problems that are obviously larger, more complicated, and sometimes even insoluble, than it is to work together at the same time we respect each other and our differences. It can't make sense to ignore existing laws, and instead pile on more and more, never bothering to use the laws for the benefit of society.

If you think gun control isn't people control, think again.

The history of gun control—beginning with the denial of firearms rights to newly freed African-Americans in the post-Civil War South, to those aimed at immigrants at the turn of the last century—is a dangerous, deceitful, un-American history of people control. If laws can be enacted, if regulations can be implemented, without review or recourse against Americans just like you, what and who comes next?

Your friends, neighbors, relatives and co-workers who own guns just want what you want: the safe and secure lives that Americans declared their right over 200 years ago; lives that are not judged by others merely because they "seem different;" the renewed promise of a government that works for the people and respects their judgement, and a fair and open hearing in the court of public opinion.

The Bill of Rights guarantees your rights—and trusts the people.

All the rights we enjoy today are dependent on one another. Your rights and liberties, including your privacy and your personal decisions about yourself and family are guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, which includes the Second Amendment.

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■ CAMPAIGN 2000 II ■

Status Quo Report

An education governor?

KATE O'BEIRNE

GEORGE W. BUSH may not have taken controversial positions, or any positions, on many national issues. But the Texas governor does have a record after four years in office, and his conservative critics at home are convinced that at least one part of it will hurt him. "Bush's Achilles' heel won't be the social issues like abortion. It will be education," declares David Guenthner of the *Lone Star Report*, a conservative newsletter.

Education has been central to Bush's agenda, and he does receive plaudits for his performance. But many of them are coming from the wrong party. Bush has been a "lifesaver" for school reform in Texas—according to a former Democratic county chairman. He's done an "outstanding job"—says the Democratic chairman of the Texas house education committee. "I'm sure he wouldn't like me saying this, but he is a Texas Democrat," says Texas Federation of Teachers president John Cole.

Cole would not be so enthusiastic if Bush championed school choice. The governor supports a modest pilot program for choice this year, but he spends his political capital on less market-oriented reforms that enjoy more bipartisan support, such as ending "social promotion," and on popular non-reforms, such as raising teacher salaries. There is little chance that Texas will follow Florida, where Jeb Bush is governor, in enacting a voucher plan any time soon.

George W.'s supporters note that brother Jeb has the support of a Republican legislature in Florida, while Democrats control the house in Texas. A fair point. But Democrats didn't force Bush to appoint education officials with no interest in conservative reforms.

In 1995, Bush named Michael Moses, a former teacher and school superintendent, education commissioner, head of the Texas Education Agency. According to Allan E. Parker of the Texas Justice Foundation, Moses "has had to be pushed hard by conservatives for conservative reforms." David Hartman, a bank president and CEO who writes on education reform for the *Lone Star Report*, says that Moses's "mindset appears to be typical of the education cartel."

During Bush's first term, the state's elected board of education was sharply divided over curricula, standards, and testing. In 1996, Bush labeled the proposed curriculum standards out of the Texas Education Agency "mushy." Conservatives on the board agreed and backed an alternative set of standards. These standards were endorsed by E. D. Hirsch, author of *Cultural Literacy*, and other believers in a core curriculum that stresses basic skills and knowledge.

But Bush's appointed chairman of the state board, Jack Christie, supported the education establishment's standards, which were ultimately approved. And although the Texas GOP's platform called for the alternative standards, Bush didn't stick up for the conservative board members. Instead, some of his closest allies among Republican legislators joined the Democratic attack on them as religious extremists. Karl Rove, Bush's top advisor, took a swipe at them in the *New York Times*.

Bush touts his "accountability system" for the schools as the best in the country. But many conservatives remain opposed. Donna Garner, a high-school teacher who led the fight for tougher standards, argues that the adopted standards are based not on objective knowledge but on subjective evaluations of student progress. The pressure on teachers who criticize the establishment, she says, is "fearsome." Her ultimate boss, Commissioner Moses, recently sent her a "nasty" handwritten note telling her to stop sending him letters detailing her concerns about the standards.

Has academic achievement risen, as the governor claims? The Tax Research Association, a small outfit in Houston funded by business, says no. Looking at the last four years' worth of state test results, its analysis indicted the state tests themselves, which are the foundation of the "accountability system." The tenth-grade math test, for instance, would be "more appropriate as a target for the sixth grade." The reading tests, too, were found to be below grade level, and to have become easier over the past four years. George Scott, president of the association, argues that these tests therefore mask fundamental shortcomings in Texas schools: "There are campuses in Texas ranked acceptable where there are significantly high levels of illiteracy."

Margaret LaMontague, the governor's advisor on education, agrees that standards should be higher. But, she asks, "is there any other state doing better with accountability and assessment? At least we know where we are." Neoconservative education guru Chester Finn confirms that other states are indeed worse than Texas at measuring their students' achievement. And a recent national assessment credited Texas and North Carolina as the two states showing the most student improvement. (Critics of the Texas testing regime want to examine these national data, which contradict their own findings.)

The pattern of Bush's education policy has been to mollify the teacher unions and the education bureaucracy. Former Republican national committeewoman Susan Feldman speculates that Bush appointed Moses because it's "what would get him the most points" with the Texas Education Agency. And last year, Bush appointed a critic of charter schools to the state board. Bush has addressed conservatives' concerns only when they have made trouble, and always with an exaggerated fear of being seen to cave in to them. So, for instance, Bush named Chase Untermeyer, a conciliatory veteran of his father's White House, the new chairman of the board. Untermeyer has bought peace by being open to conservatives' views.

Still, there is no shortage of local conservative critics of Bush's education record—as his Republican rivals for the nomination will discover when they do their opposition research. It may be difficult to sort out whether his reforms have lived up to his claims. But an examination of his record on education appointments demands no sophisticated analysis: Conservative reformers need not apply. **NR**

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■ CAMPAIGN 2000 III ■

Loaded

A nomination process stacked against conservatives.

JOHN J. MILLER

RONALD REAGAN came close to calling it quits early in 1976. President Gerald Ford had beaten him in the first five primaries, including a runaway win in Reagan's home state of Illinois. But when attention turned to the sixth primary, in North Carolina, Reagan was able to try his message on a new group of voters. He pulled off an upset, trumping Ford 52 percent to 46 percent, and gained enough momentum to campaign for weeks. He didn't win the nomination, but he put up a good fight until the end—and positioned himself for victory in 1980.

"If next year's primary schedule had been in effect back then," says Tom Ellis, who spearheaded Reagan's 1976 effort in North Carolina, "he would have been out right away. There wouldn't have been a race." In other words, we might not have heard from Reagan again.

That's because the 2000 primary season stands to be the shortest in memory. As many as 60 percent of the GOP's delegates will be chosen by March 14, perhaps even more. Gone are the days when candidates would joust with one another for months as a Boys on the Bus press corps chronicled every thrust and parry and tallied a slowly growing delegate count—as in 1976. After a long year of quiet fundraising in 1999, candidates will face a fast and noisy blitz early next year. This is bad news for conservatives. "The only times we've nominated a conservative—Reagan in 1980 and Goldwater in 1964—are when we slugged it out," says Morton Blackwell, a longtime GOP rules activist.

Few Republicans actually favor the frontloaded primary schedule, which has Alaska, Arizona, Hawaii, Louisiana, Michigan, North Dakota, South Carolina, Virginia, and Washington either moving into January or February or thinking about it—and encroaching on turf traditionally held by Iowa and New Hampshire. Ten more states, including California, are currently scheduled to vote in the first week of March, and ten more by the end of the second week. "Frontloading is very bad for Republican primary voters. They're not engaged, and the process is over before many of them have had a chance to think about the candidates," says Haley Barbour, former head of the Republican National Committee.

The trend is not new, and the motives behind it are easy to understand. Individual state parties and legislatures, which largely determine when states will hold caucuses and primaries, want to play an important role in determining the nominee. Each is envious of the attention lavished every four years on Iowa and New Hampshire. The pressure to move a date from June to March, as California did for 1996, is overwhelming. In April, South Carolina Democrats voted to follow the state's Republicans in advancing their primary to February 26—even though their national party's rules permit only Iowa and New Hampshire to go before the first Tuesday in March. The shift may cost South Carolina one-quarter of its delegates at the national convention, but Gov. Jim Hodges considers that an acceptable trade-off for early influence.

One irony is that the more states push their dates forward, the more likely they are to be disappointed by the result. With so many primaries pressed together on the calendar, fewer states will receive the kind of attention they covet or have a meaningful impact on the selection process. And the influence they do have might generate unintended consequences. Southern Democrats staged Super Tuesday in 1988 thinking it would both draw attention to their states and ensure a moderate nominee. In the actual event, however, candidates campaigned from airport to airport and met few voters. Then Super Tuesday's strongest performers turned out to be two of the party's biggest liberals, Michael Dukakis and Jesse Jackson.

Next year's frontloading could lead to similar surprises. Indeed, each campaign has a theory as to why its candidate is uniquely positioned to take advantage of frontloading. Yet the reality is probably that second-tier candidates with good ideas won't be taken seriously. They have a limited opportunity to raise money before the primaries begin, and then the primaries go by so quickly, they lack the ability to capitalize on promising finishes in the early states or build a movement that carries them to victory over the course of several months. Moreover, the winner won't be forced to absorb themes developed by conservative challengers: In 1996, Bob Dole was demanding that Pat Buchanan and Steve Forbes abandon the race at a moment when he should have been working to attract their supporters in a coalition.

The process also will favor candidates with appeal to party bosses and the national media—and neither group is a ready ally of conservatives.

Presidential candidates have reacted to frontloading by getting started earlier. Most aspirants had announced their intentions by March of this year. Two

Bush, Quayle, Buchanan, and Forbes by Roman Genn

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elections ago, Bill Clinton was able to hop in as late as October. "In some ways, the primary season isn't shorter. It's just earlier," says Dan Quayle strategist Kyle McSlarrow. In other words, the winnowing process may occur before the first primary. "I wouldn't be surprised to see some of the candidates without much money drop out later this year," says Peter Roff of GOPAC.

Frontloading creates another problem. "We may have a nominee by St. Patrick's Day, but he won't actually get the formal nomination for another four or five months," says Ed Gillespie, a John Kasich advisor. That means the GOP presidential candidate won't have access to federal matching funds at a time when Vice President Gore can exploit the bully pulpit of his office. That's what happened to Dole three years ago—his campaign was essentially out of cash between April and August and had to rely heavily on the RNC to stay afloat. It would behoove the GOP to avoid that fate in 2000.

Republicans recognized the problem of frontloading several years ago, but have been unable to prevent it. At the 1996 convention, Haley Barbour suggested giving bonus delegates to states holding their primaries and caucuses after April 1, but his proposal was watered down before passage and has done little to halt the stampede. The only quick solution would be for the national parties to seize control of primary scheduling. They could spread out the process over several months and force states to move around on the calendar every four years. In February, the National Association of Secretaries of State agreed to promote rotating regional primaries. Barbour favors holding ten primaries in geographically separated states every three weeks.

Yet these schemes are unlikely to be realized. Unlike the top-down Democratic National Committee, the RNC is a messy confederation of state parties. Decentralized democracy created frontloading, and that same democracy would have to reverse course. In the meantime, conservatives are stuck. "What we have now is better than hereditary monarchy," says Michael Barone, co-author of *The Almanac of American Politics*. "That's about the best thing you can say about it." **NR**

■ ABROAD ■

Birth of a Nation

The perils of Palestinian statehood.

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

Jerusalem

A NEW state appears to be coming to birth, and it is not Kosovo but Palestine. The gestation has been long, difficult, and bloody.

States come into being through an extraordinary interplay of choices and accidents. Like the awkward child that it is, the Palestinian state is set to emerge between two reluctant parents, Israel and Jordan, each wishing the other to take responsibility for what has happened, and both secretly dreaming of abortion. In a mood of resignation rather than expectation, the talk in Israel and Jordan is about the inevitability of this state. Its sovereignty will have to be qualified—but in which respects? Nobody can predict with any degree of certainty whether statehood will resolve the Palestinian dilemma or only recast it into another shape.

If you go into the jungle, as Kipling put it, you must be sure what size beast you are. To pursue that metaphor, the Palestinians were always a small and vulnerable animal. Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, for years lived in the hope that the Soviet Union would trample a protective way for him through the jungle. The resort to violence in order to achieve self-determination proved a self-inflicted injury, the path to suicide rather than statehood. The collapse of Communism freed Arafat from that mistake. In November 1988, he made his first unilateral declaration of statehood. This was to be achieved by peaceful means (though of course with violence in reserve up his sleeve). Whenever he sees fit, he repeats this declaration. The achievement of statehood has become the test—the crown—of his leadership.

If Israelis and Arabs cannot live together, then they must be separated. Sixty years ago, in a judgment worthy of King Solomon, a British commission inquiring into the Palestinian impasse of the day concluded that partition was the only way out. The logic of partition concludes in statehood for both parties. The Oslo accords of 1994 set that logic in motion, with an international stamp of approval. During an interim period of five years, negotiations were to address the head-on differences between Israelis and Palestinians—over borders, who has the right to live where, and the status of Jerusalem. Here was a peace process with Palestinian statehood and some measure of sovereignty implicit in it, all so neat and tidy and obvious.

During these five years, the Palestinians have been busy. Outward changes are impressive. Arafat now controls Gaza and the main towns of the West Bank, though not yet all the territory that he claims. The trappings of a state—flag, anthem, postage stamps, an airport—are all in place. Everywhere the cranes and cement-mixers are at work with an almost Israeli ferocity. Gaza is no longer the slum it was. The new boulevard in the city center, high-rise buildings, modern hotels—all are reminiscent of Beirut up the coast. Palatial villas in stone and marble adorn Gaza and all the West Bank towns. Huge Mercedes automobiles glide between them, and the men inside carry VIP passes.

Talk to the Palestinians, though, and the good news swiftly dries up. Now that the interim period of the Oslo accords is over, they see themselves in a kind of political limbo, rejecting any move backward but not properly masters of their own fate. Without resources, they have no alternative to economic and social dependence on Israel and Jordan. A state may be coming, but it will be a Potemkin one. Khalil Shikaki in Nablus conducts polls of Palestinian opinion. According to these polls, Arafat has

Mr. Pryce-Jones is the author of, among other books, *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs.*

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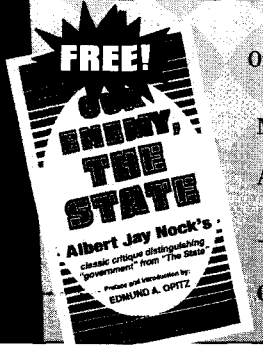

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never been so unpopular, with support down to 50 percent. The peace process receives consistently high support, but increasingly people fear that it is tending to a resumption of violence rather than to a state.

After the Oslo accords, Arafat set up the so-called Palestine Authority, supposedly to supersede the PLO, which ought to convert into a political party like any other, or simply disband now that its revolutionary aims have been redirected. The PA acquired a new legislative assembly, for the purposes of representing the people and initiating the institutions of the state. Elections to this assembly took place, but its members were mostly PLO or other loyalists pre-selected by Arafat. A Basic Law of the state has been drafted, but Arafat has not signed it. So in the PA there is no constitution, no rule of law, no due process, no accountability, no respect for human rights, no freedom of expression, not even welfare and social security. Arafat's word is law. He rules supreme as he always did, through the PLO, now expanded with an armed police of some 40,000, and seven or eight secret-police and intelligence services. On a smaller scale, here is a reproduction of Saddam Hussein's Iraq or Hafiz Assad's Syria.

Under exactly the same emergency decrees passed long ago by the British, Israel currently holds 70 Palestinians in preventive detention, while the PA holds 200 of its own people. Some have been in custody without trial for three years. Most are suspected terrorists from Islamic movements, but some are oppositionists to Arafat, whom he finds it convenient to repress. PA loyalists argue that they are driven to such unlawful measures to satisfy Israeli demands for security.

Eighteen men have died in prison in suspicious circumstances. Twenty-five death sentences have been passed since the creation of the PA, and three men have been executed. One was a colonel, arrested at midnight on a charge of having raped a boy. The boy's word was accepted unconditionally. An hour later, a military tribunal sentenced the colonel to death, and by three o'clock that same morning he was put before the firing squad.

The mere mention of some of the police chiefs—Muhammad Dahlan, for instance, or Jabril Rajoub—is enough to evoke fear and silence. "We are still a tribal society," a Palestinian intellectual says to me, "we do not have a culture of rights and freedoms, and it will be many years before we can change." There are clear-sighted and courageous men opposed to Arafat and his one-man rule. In the manner of Soviet dissidents they ask to be quoted by name on the grounds that publicity will protect them. As in the old Soviet times, though, an outsider can hardly take on himself to expose others to likely persecution.

In one of Shikaki's polls, 70 percent of Palestinians think that the PA is corrupt, and the same percentage also believes that it will become worse. Arafat loyalists run protection rackets. Inspectors pocket the taxes they are supposed to collect. PLO-dependent judges and bureaucrats demand bribes. Immense funds from donor countries and other well-wishers reach Arafat, and he insists on retaining ultimate control of all monies. There is no proper auditing. Dispensing handouts, he retains his loyalists. Some of these boast about the cash they carry in suitcases. One of the marble villas in Gaza belongs to Abu Mazen, potentially a successor to Arafat, and it is no secret that it cost $2 million to build. Next door stands a similar villa built by the widow of a PLO loyalist shot dead in Tunis. The annual per capita income locally is $1,700.

"Will a Palestinian state not be a threat to Jordan rather than to Israel?" I ask a prominent Palestinian. "I should very much hope so," comes the reply. In policymaking circles, it seems, the intention is to take over Jordan in the end by fair means or foul. The population there is already 70 percent Palestinian. Young King Abdullah may have to return to Mecca where his ancestors came from, or else stand and fight as his father once fought the PLO in its violent and unreconstructed period. Israeli politicians unanimously support Jordan as a buffer zone. The old Likud slogan that "Jordan is Palestine" has long outlived any validity it may have had. It is an irony that the Palestinians should adopt this right-wing Israeli slogan as their own.

The Israeli government today has to face the fact that the peace process is officially in abeyance and needs renewing. President Clinton is pressing hard for another interim period on the lines of the Oslo accords, in which to negotiate the issues that have locked down this whole dispute for so many years. The Europeans finger-wag and moralize. In a post-Kosovo world, any attempt to settle conflicting claims by force is likely to be heavily penalized. If only partition and statehood were as neat and tidy and obvious as logic suggests. What if the state that the Palestinians eventually acquire is hardly worth having, a mass of injustice and corruption, another Arab dictatorship endangering its own people and those around them? **NR**

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■ CHINA ■

Handwriting on the Wall

Is the Chinese regime doomed?

ARTHUR WALDRON

AFTER NATO mistakenly bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, menacing anti-American demonstrations took place outside the U.S. embassy in Beijing. These demonstrations were clearly tolerated, if not actually sponsored, by the Chinese government—but they will nevertheless worry that government.

Anti-foreign passions have exploded in China throughout this century, with nationalism transporting anger and frustrations from other areas of life into the political arena. That is what happened 80 years ago this May 4, when anti-Japanese demonstrations quickly metamorphosed into the first of China's great mass democracy movements. And it could well happen again.

Official jitters about this kind of thing were obvious even before the Belgrade bombing. The regime was clearly spooked in late April when 10,000 followers of the Fa Lun Gong Buddhist group materialized around the main government compound to protest, and then dispersed, all without any warning from China's pervasive security apparatus.

The regime's uneasiness could also be felt in its edict limiting access to satellite broadcasts to foreigners only. Reports held that Beijing had confiscated satellite dishes and related equipment from the Chinese cable companies that had been relaying CNN, the BBC, and international Chinese-language programming to Chinese viewers. This was in addition to the continuing arrests and detentions of dissidents, and the start of a new "rectification campaign" within the Party.

Many Western experts tell us not to read too much into activities of this sort: Sure, they note, the government is worried about some sensitive anniversaries—the 80th of the May Fourth movement, the tenth of the Tiananmen massacre, or "incident," as it is termed officially, coming up on June 4. But much more is going on in China than simple seasonal sensitivity. The Communist regime is reaching its limits, and, given the government's unwillingness to guide the transition beyond, political change is becoming chaotic.

China, after all, has for 20 years been in the throes of far-reaching economic and social change, initiated by the Communist party, which has presided over an opening to the world and a substantial loosening of internal control. Great social forces have been set in motion and now are beginning to overwhelm the archaic political system. The Party is unsure what to do. The easy changes have been made. Logically the next steps are economic privatization

Mr. Waldron is professor of international relations at the University of Pennsylvania and director of Asian studies at the American Enterprise Institute.

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and political pluralism—and at these the Party is balking.

This is the important drama that has been overshadowed, in both China and the West, by the spy scandal at Los Alamos, the visit of Zhu Rongji to the United States, the debate over Chinese admission to the World Trade Organization, and now the shock of the embassy bombing in Serbia. All this is a volatile mixture that will probably get worse.

Reform under Communism has run its course, reached a dead end. The original idea in China was that economic growth would give the Party a new lease on life—and that proved true, for a while. But like Lenin's original "New Economic Policy," which had precisely the same purpose, the market opening has now caught the regime in a double bind.

For a time, economic growth was able to substitute for political reform. That worked so well, however, that now the legitimacy of rule is bound up in material progress, and the Party cannot afford to let that development slow. Economic setbacks are now potentially regime-threatening. But as the easy gains have all been realized, the aim of keeping the economy moving will require significant changes in areas such as law and justice—in other words, just those reforms that economic development was supposed to avoid.

Hence the quest for stasis and the endless talk from both Beijing and Washington about the virtues of "stability," when steady change is what is really needed. There is no way to freeze things more or less as they are. The circle cannot be squared by running an open market that is protected, an objective legal system that is subject to capricious Party intervention, and an open society that has reduced access to the world. The rest of the world should obviously be thinking about what will come next.

Letting the students stone the U.S. embassy is probably intended by China's rulers as, among other things, a safety valve. They understand that their own people are growing restive and that their hold on power is as difficult to justify as was, say, Suharto's.

Yet the risks of the demonstrations are many. Having intentionally unleashed patriotic zeal, the government must now show itself strong against the West. But how? China's objective interests are tied to economic and political cooperation with the very Washington it denounces. Disappointed protesters may soon turn their attention to other issues, nearer to home. With international questions allowed into public debate, domestic questions may follow. None of this fits very well with Washington's favorite image of a China developing steadily towards wealth and great-power maturity under the wise leadership of Jiang Zemin.

Beijing needs something dramatic in the political realm, and there is just enough time to provide it. It must be admitted, however, that the omens for the regime are not good. **NR**

■ CHINA II ■

Insecurity Complex

Why Chinese spies love us.

DOUGLAS H. PAAL

AMERICA'S most secret weapons designs have apparently been snatched by the Chinese. How did it happen? The story can be told in three parts: how competing interests within the U.S. bureaucracy created the conditions for espionage; how China uniquely is prepared to exploit those conditions at relatively low cost; and how the Clinton administration has handled the unfolding scandal and damage to national security.

Since the nuclear National Laboratories (Los Alamos, Lawrence Livermore, and Sandia) were established to meet the weapons needs of World War II and the Cold War, officials in charge have frequently confronted contradictory objectives. On the one hand, they need to attract the best possible talent with a campus-like atmosphere and the promise of full participation in the activities of the international scientific community; otherwise, they run the risk of attracting only the second-rate.

On the other hand, lab scientists are deeply involved in developing the nation's most sensitive weapons secrets, requiring extraordinary security arrangements. A slip of the lip, or of the computer keyboard, can wipe out an American nuclear advantage almost instantaneously. The labs' employees therefore are required to undergo extensive background checks, agree to monitoring of their communications, and adhere to strict rules about security.

Mr. Paal is president of the Asia Pacific Policy Center in Washington, D.C.

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Finding a balance here is difficult but not impossible. The labs enjoyed considerable autonomy and compiled a magnificent record during the Cold War. A big change, however, came when the oil shocks of the 1970s led to the creation of the Department of Energy, which subordinated the labs to a new Washington-based boss. This was never an easy arrangement.

As the Cold War ended and budgets tightened, the Energy Department not only sucked up resources that previously went directly to the labs, it tried to keep all three labs humming with less and less funding. Conflicts arose over priorities for spending and programs. For example, computers are indispensable to the labs,

In Department of Energy labs, resentment against Washington festered.

but government procurement seldom keeps pace with the state of the art, leading scientists to download their classified work onto faster, more convenient, but unsecured computers, producing new risks. In the labs, resentment against Washington festered.

It is against this background that the public squabble between the Department of Energy's former acting chief of intelligence, Notra Trulock, and the labs and FBI should be seen. Trulock has testified that he tried to tighten security but was resisted by the labs as they sought to maintain an atmosphere conducive to academic work. Trulock wanted to put Wen Ho Lee out of work before he did more damage. Los Alamos wanted to avoid rushing to judgment. The FBI wanted to keep an eye on him to see whether he would lead to others. The White House sided with the FBI, some say because it wanted to protect the newly improving relationship with China.

Whatever the motivation of all the parties to this affair, the bureaucratic structure of the labs and the Energy Department created a fertile environment for things to go wrong, and for everyone to blame everyone else. Weak

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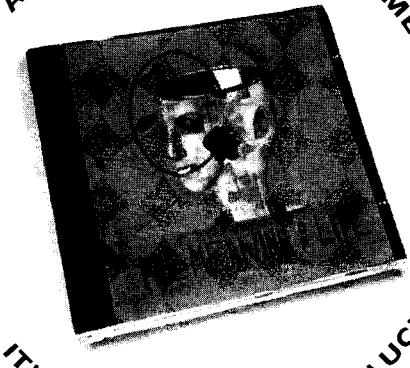

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and absent leadership at the department compounded the problem. And, as the forthcoming Cox Commission report on Chinese intelligence activities is likely to show, the situation at Energy is hardly unique.

Enter the Chinese, with their unusually configured intelligence-collection capability. Unlike other powers, the Beijing regime does not rely only on a cadre of professional intelligence operatives to collect targeted intelligence. Rather, it supplements the professionals, who focus primarily on intelligence collection, by recruiting relatively large numbers of experts in many and diverse fields who have only part-time responsibility to report back intelligence information.

By increasing the number of part-time agents moving about American society, China magnifies the challenge for American counterintelligence at low cost to itself. Chinese assets strain the limited U.S. resources dedicated to tracking, impeding, and countering Chinese collection efforts. The scale of the Chinese effort requires a countervailing willingness on the part of American citizens to be vigilant about Chinese visitors, something many—given our freedoms—are unwilling to do.

The FBI had a distinguished team of counterintelligence experts on China up to the 1980s. The Bureau is now said to have gone through a generational change in personnel that has weakened the effort against Chinese intelligence in the short run, with a view to building a new team of China experts for the long run. Moreover, Americans readily come to like their Chinese friends. It is difficult to think that the thoroughly pleasant, skilled, and hospitable colleagues they have come to know would pour extra drinks just to discover new facets of weapons miniaturization or the vulnerabilities of American aircraft carriers.

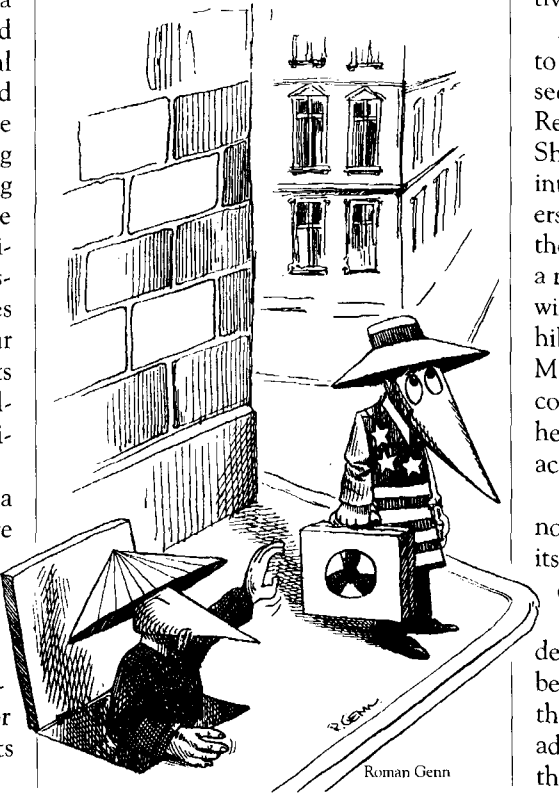
In addition, U.S. relations with China suffer mood swings. Sometimes we are very much at odds with each other; at other times, the emphasis is on "building a constructive strategic partnership." When the latter mood prevails, as now under the Clinton administration, the guard goes down for Americans, but China never loses its appetite for our secrets.

So, is China, with the opportunity to learn America's most valuable secrets and the means to exploit them, about to leap years ahead in development of its military capabilities? Yes and no.

Assume that we have given China virtually total access to our most important secrets about nuclear weapons and missiles. Assume the same for every other sensitive weapons and intelligence system. To do otherwise is probably foolish, given the record revealed so far.

Americans are likely to be subjected to further shocks. Remedies will be sought.

Beijing still will not be in a position to meet U.S. power unit for unit, or technology for technology. Rather, given China's weaknesses and scarce resources, it will ferret out U.S. vulnerabilities and focus on those. Expect the Chinese to increase their efforts to develop sophisticated anti-ship cruise missiles and anti-stealth technologies. They will concentrate on exploiting the vulnerabilities of our "information warfare" in satellites and communications facilities.


Roman Genn

The most prominent issue raised by the Los Alamos case is nuclear-weapons miniaturization. Next in rank is access to the "legacy codes" of accumulated nuclear-testing data. Together, these exposures of vital information to Chinese intelligence may lead to an increase of Chinese nuclear firepower mounted on intercontinental missiles that might be aimed at the United States.

So far, however, China has not transformed its missile strike force to reflect these intelligence gains. Possessing only about two dozen liquid-fueled intercontinental missiles that could threaten the U.S., China has yet to be seen to test and field "MIRVS" on mobile solid-fuel rockets. China has long had problems converting theory into reality in the arena of weapons.

How about the Clinton administration's responsibility? Or its allegations that responsibility really lies with the Reagan and Bush administrations? The evidence revealed so far suggests that there is plenty of blame for mismanagement and inattention to go around. Investigations of Wen Ho Lee began in 1984, yet he is accused of erasing sensitive computer files as late as this year.

Americans are likely to be subjected to further shocks as the extent of the security problem becomes clearer. Remedies will be sought. Sen. Richard Shelby, Republican of Louisiana, has introduced legislation banning foreigners from sensitive countries from visiting the National Laboratories. This seems a no-brainer, but would actually conflict with U.S. nonproliferation policy by prohibiting visits to the Cooperative Monitoring Center at Sandia, which coordinates supervision of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, among other activities.

China, for its part, ought to take notice. If Beijing begins to try to leapfrog its weapons development with a view to developing a credible threat against the U.S., the American people will demand a response that could end up being very costly to both countries—and the United States starts with enormous advantages. In the intelligence business, they call this "blowback." **NR**

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■ LITTLETON ■

Levittown to Littleton

How the suburbs have changed.

CHRISTOPHER CALDWELL

THE day after the shootings at Columbine High, many newspapers ran a 2" x 2" inset map of the school neighborhood in Littleton, Colorado. There was a grid of high-speed roads a mile to a block. There were residential cul-de-sacs squiggling into empty quadrants. And looming up in the corner like a 747 hangar was the monolithic high-school building.

Such brand-new landscapes, almost wholly unfamiliar to northeasterners, make up virtually all of the middle-class neighborhoods in any western metropolis—Phoenix, Albuquerque, Houston. What was odd was that the Littleton map generally ran amid columns of copy seeking out the root causes of the shooting, and seeking them most everywhere: guns, television, affluence, big schools, divorce, Hollywood, the Internet, Goth music. Looking for simple explanations for a tragedy like Littleton is probably a fool's errand. But if one is going to engage in the exercise, the suburban layout described in the little map belongs on the list.

In the weeks following the massacre, many Americans have begun to think so too. News articles and television specials have cast towns like Littleton as un-"nurturing" at best, an adolescent hell on earth at worst. People are once again deeply troubled by "suburbia." Fifty-five percent of Americans live in suburbs now—but only 25 percent of that number mention the suburbs as the place they'd most like to live.

Mr. Caldwell is senior writer for *The Weekly Standard*.

Well, yeah, yeah, one might say. People have been beating up on suburbs since Bill Levitt developed his first neighborhood on Long Island in 1947. So what else is new?

As it turns out, *everything* is new.

The argument over the sterility of suburban developments like the various Levittowns was thrashed out decades ago, and largely settled in favor of suburbia. Witnesses for the prosecution began appearing in the 1950s: Allen Ginsberg's poetry, the Pete Seeger folk song (written by Malvina Reynolds) called "Little Boxes" (". . . made of ticky-tacky / And they all look the same"), novels of corporate anomie like Sloan Wilson's *Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*. For the campus protestors of the 1960s, the suburbs were synonymous with conformity, repression, and racism. For the radicals' largely conservative opponents, they meant family, patriotism, and decency. In retrospect, we can view this as an early sign of the Left's conversion to elite snobbery: What really bothered the Left about Levittowns was that they were so *working class*. Happily, and unsurprisingly, conservatives won this battle.

But the Littleton problem is not the Levittown problem. And conservatives' victory in earlier battles has made them too quick to dismiss the complaints that have spawned dozens of panicky books in the past two years and have come to a boil in the wake of the shootings. Al Gore's attacks on suburban "sprawl" may retain much of the earlier anti-suburban liberal snobbery. The "livability agenda" that he plugs may lack intellectual seriousness. But Gore's very lack of seriousness should alert us that there's a real problem here. The vice president is a sufficiently unoriginal man that he would not be flailing about for a solution if he hadn't already found deep discontent in suburban focus groups.

The problem with Levittown was its physical monotony, a problem that diminishes over time, as trees grow and suburbanites modify their homes. What's more, since Tocqueville we've been told that a tendency to uniformity comes with the democratic territory. The problem in affluent "McMansion" suburbs like Littleton is that children grow up in almost hermetic seclusion—a newer and more soul-destroying condition, with dismal implications for democracy. Large lots, dead-end streets, and draconian zoning laws mean that there are vast distances to travel to reach any kind of public space. For parents, this means dependence on cars. For children unlucky enough to inhabit a dead-end that has no children on it, this means: No friends for you. Until adolescence, not even a child who is an ambitious walker can escape, since other neighborhoods are separated from his not by streets but by highways. (Town planners may christen them "avenues" or "boulevards," and real-estate agents may sell them as such, but they're highways.) No child in Levittown faced this problem.

This seclusion, in turn, creates an abject dependence on parents for automobile travel, and with it, a breakdown in any socialization of children that could be called normal. In the largely suburban eastern town where I grew up, a 5-year-old could walk about the neighborhood, and a 10-year-old could walk all over town. Twelve-year-olds could ride their bikes most places, and 14-year-olds could ride them to other towns. When you were 16, you could take the car if you really needed it. Entry into adult mobility was gradual and supervised. By contrast, a 15-year-old Littleton resident lives in a state of dependence considerably greater than that of my 5-year-old neighbors—or of 5-year-olds in any Levittown, for that matter. When a child of the western suburbs reaches driving age, his parents face a choice: either maintain the kid in his infantile seclusion until you send him off to college (where he can go nuts) or buy him a car and unleash him as a demigod of the highways.

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People have been beating up on the suburbs for years. So what else is new? As it turns out, everything.

■

There are, no doubt, cultural and historic factors at work along with questions of suburban landscape. For one, anonymity—which the locals describe as "privacy"—is a cherished cultural value in the western United States. (So is rootlessness: How many kids in Littleton High have parents from Littleton? How

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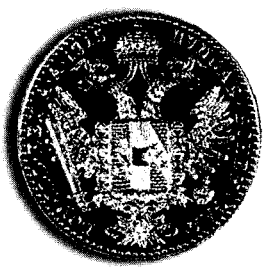

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many were born in Littleton themselves?) For another, western suburbs were always doomed to be more sterile than their eastern counterparts, since the East was already too heavily settled for automobile-based suburbs to gain absolute dominion over the landscape: Drive out of a planned development in Massachusetts or New Jersey and you can easily wind up on a village green.

The upshot is that Levittown has as much in common with the Olde Village Greene as it does with Littleton—and is a much better place to live for that reason. The ghastly solitude of much of the American upper-middle class was well evoked by Edward Luttwak in his recent book *Turbo-Capitalism*: "There is a lot of lonely space not only between but inside the ideal dwellings of the American dream, the veritable mansions of the richest suburbs, which could house parents, grown children and their children in familial communion if only all were poor enough, but which mostly house only one ever-so-busy male and as busy a female, with surviving parents in their own retirement abodes, distant children pursuing their budding careers, and few friends, whose degree of loyal commitment might rate them as mere acquaintances in other climes."

Littleton is perhaps best described as Levittown plus affluence plus limitless buildable land—and the result is something qualitatively different, even unprecedented. If in Levittown the issue is conformity, in Littleton it's identity. In Levittown, you get kids banding together lamenting that their life is less heroic than that of their parents: It's *Rebel Without a Cause*. In Littleton, you get kids building the wildest fantasies in their interminable solitude, with the help of their computers, their televisions, and their stereos: It's a high-tech version of *The Wild Boy of Aveyron*. (As the architecture professor William Morrish told the *New York Times*: "They're basically an unseen population until they pierce their noses.")

Critics of the Fifties complained that Levittown's sameness could lead to conformity—although there was never much proof that it did. Today's critics warn that the loneliness of Littleton produces something very like the opposite of conformity. We can only hope that the evidence they're right doesn't continue to mount. **NR**

■ LITTLETON II ■

Gun Show

Why new gun laws won't work.

JOHN R. LOTT JR.

THE airwaves have been full of arguments over the lessons, if any, of the massacre at Columbine High School. But what about the lessons of those school massacres that were stopped in their tracks? In October 1997, after a shooter had killed two students at a high school in Pearl, Miss., assistant principal Joel Myrick retrieved a gun from his car and immobilized him until the police arrived. An April 1998 school-related shooting in Edinboro, Pa., which left a teacher dead, was stopped by nearby restaurant owner James Strand, who pointed a shotgun at the shooter as he was reloading his gun. The police did not arrive until eleven minutes later.

Most news coverage of these incidents ignored the role of guns in ending the bloodshed. In the month following the Mississippi shooting, only 19 of the 687 stories on the episode mentioned Myrick. Some of those said only that he had "disarmed the shooter." In a later story on CBS, Dan Rather noted only that "Myrick eventually subdued the young gunman." Similarly, only 35 of the 596 stories on the Pennsylvania crime mentioned Strand, with the New York *Daily News* explaining that he had "persuaded [the shooter] to surrender" and the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* claiming that he had "chased [the shooter] down and held him until police came."

Five school-related shootings occurred in the 1997–98 school year. One might have thought that the fact that two of them were stopped by guns would register in the public debate over such shootings. Instead, and particularly since the Columbine tragedy, that debate has focused on irrelevancies. Consider President Clinton's proposed gun regulations, repackaged after Columbine. He would, among other things, mandate that guns have safety locks, require three-day waiting periods before guns could be purchased, and hold adults criminally liable for allowing minors access to guns.

Of course, one might question the effectiveness of any gun controls, given that Columbine is one of the few places in Colorado where possessing a gun is illegal and that federal law has since 1995 generally prohibited guns within 1,000 feet of a school. But assume these new proposals could be perfectly enforced. A three-day waiting period would have made no difference in an attack planned at least a year in advance. Past school shooters have used guns with safety locks. And none of the proposals would have restricted Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold from having access to the propane and plastics used to make many of the bombs.

■

Five school-related shootings occurred in the 1997–98 school year. Two of them were stopped by guns.

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Nor does it make sense to attach much significance to the particular features of the Tech-9, the so-called "assault pistol" used at Columbine. The media have shown pictures of a Tech-9 containing a much larger ammunition clip than was actually used in order to make it look more frightening. But oversized clips can be added to virtually all semiautomatic guns, and this "assault weapon" functions no differently from other semiautomatic pistols sold in the United States. It is no more powerful, it doesn't shoot any faster, and it doesn't shoot any more rounds. One pull of the trigger fires one bullet. Few reports have even mentioned that at most one person was killed with the Tech-9.

Mr. Lott is a fellow at the University of Chicago law school and the author of *More Guns, Less Crime: Understanding Crime and Gun Control Laws.*

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■ SPECIAL REPORT ■

Opinion on Campus

IN the next few pages, we report the results of the follow-up survey of the college Class of '98 promised to you just after we first polled them as freshmen back in 1995 (our September 25 issue). Early last year, we mailed the same questionnaire to those students, seniors by then, as the final phase of a project for the Educational Reviewer designed to contrast political, cultural, and religious attitudes upon college entry and nearer graduation. Our text does just that—contrast first-year and fourth-year responses. The tables display the 1995/freshmen percentages in a row labeled "freshmen" while those of 1998/seniors are in the row below, bold and italicized. Fractional percentages, which had been dropped in 1995, were rounded last year. In both surveys, the percentage not replying to each question was omitted.

As in 1995, the twelve colleges and universities included were: Liberty University in Lynchburg, Va.; The Citadel in Charleston, S.C.; Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wis.; the University of California at Irvine; the University of Indiana at Bloomington; the University of California at Los Angeles; the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee; three Ivies—Dartmouth, Yale, and Brown; the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor; and Stanford University in Palo Alto, Calif.

To summarize the results: The students said they were more liberal nearer graduation. What sort of liberalism had they embraced? As seniors, they were convinced that they were entitled to numerous government subsidies (pensions, health insurance, college-tuition assistance, etc.) and that the underclass should be given jobs (as opposed to mere cash transfers). But they also wanted increased protection against criminals, hard drugs, and missile attack. And intolerance. They would discourage black separatism on campus. They remained "open" to major planks of the gay agenda, to continued coercive affirmative action, to high (legal) immigration levels, and to spending tax revenues on art. "Openness" seemed more central to their civics than "belief in natural rights." Or "belief." Over 60 percent of our seniors still maintained their 1995 formal religious affiliations, but the authority of religious precepts appeared to have given way to the rules of experiment. The students approved of certain practices (mercy killing, abortion), expecting them to be effective remedies, and disapproved of others (divorce), judging such to have done unexpected harm.

The first three questions in both surveys provide the demographics of our respondents. The **male/female** ratios (Question 1) of the senior and freshman polls were very close. As in 1995, women were in the majority at ten schools, men at two. Liberty, Indiana, and Dartmouth, however, show 5 percent more women in 1998 than in 1995. Again, most of our 2,700 respondents prepared at **public high schools** (Question 2). But last year, Marquette more than doubled its private-school group. And, at two of our colleges, fewer students reported coming from households with **incomes** (Question 3) above $50,000: Indiana dropped to 55 percent and Wisconsin to 49 percent above that income level.

"I SLEEP BETTER AT NIGHT KNOWING THAT JOE CAMEL IS NOT OUT THERE POLLUTING OUR KIDS MINDS!"

Liberals (self-described, Question 4) increased at eight colleges since the earlier poll: up 12 percent at Wisconsin, Stanford, and Brown; 10 percent at Indiana; 9 percent at Marquette, Michigan, and Yale; 5 percent at UCLA. While Marquette and Wisconsin showed corresponding declines only among independents, at the other six colleges conservative ranks alone were thinned. Outside that group of eight, Dartmouth showed an increase only among independents (from 35 percent to 41 percent), while no significant realignment was noted at Liberty, The Citadel, or UC-Irvine.

The rough parity in **party affiliation** (Question 5) seen in the freshman survey had eroded by senior year. Republican freshmen had polled above 25 percent at eleven colleges; seniors polled that high at a mere five colleges. Sagging Republican percentages in 1998 were matched by Demo-

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cratic gains at Wisconsin, Michigan, and Yale (up 7 percent, 8 percent, and 12 percent respectively), while at Dartmouth and Stanford the "non-affiliated" (the "none" category) benefited instead. And UC-Irvine and Indiana saw "non-affiliated" percentages balloon (12 percent and 21 percent) as both Republican and Democratic numbers fell. In contrast, the "non-affiliated" shrank in light of big Democratic gains at UCLA (13 percent) and Brown (11 percent), where Republican percentages were static. Only at The Citadel did Republican affiliation rise significantly, producing the party's second institutional majority: 62 percent of the seniors at The Citadel, 81 percent at Liberty. What The Citadel experienced was a major falloff in Democratic-party affiliation (27 percent), divided between the Republicans and the "non-affiliated."

WEALTH TRANSFERS

In 1995, the proposal for a new government intervention in the marketplace, namely **government sponsorship of investment policies** (Question 6), had been met with indifference by freshmen. Last year the idea was actually favored by more than 30 percent at five colleges. Only Liberty's seniors showed any significant opposition (45 percent).

Ten schools, rather than the nine of the earlier poll, provided majorities in favor of **government-based health insurance** (Question 7), and seven of the original nine swelled to two-thirds majorities. The Citadel's 1995 opposition fell off (to 48 percent) as Liberty alone opposed this proposal with a majority (64 percent).

More popular even than health insurance, with eleven colleges providing larger majorities, was **continued Social Security programs sponsored by the government and compulsory in character** (Question 8), outperforming their 1995 results in all respects but one: A majority in opposition (51 percent) appeared at Liberty.

Positions on **the privatization of Social Security** (Question 9) were beginning to firm up by senior year. Liberty moved to favoring it (56 percent), as did pluralities at The Citadel (48 percent), Marquette (40 percent), and Wisconsin (42 percent). Dartmouth, Yale, and Brown generated pluralities against. But the other campuses remained as divided as they had been in the freshman poll.

Opposition weakened to **racial parity in the sentencing of criminals** (Question 10) by the time of the follow-up survey: It fell from ten college majorities against to seven, though pluralities were still opposed everywhere but at Wisconsin. The highest percentage in favor of the proposal was 32 percent, ten points above the 1995 high (both at Yale).

The heavy backing freshmen gave to **tax-supported college financial assistance** (Question 11) gained even more weight in 1998 as the seniors awarded four-fifths majorities at eleven institutions (Liberty managed only 64 percent in favor).

Strategic-defense research and development (Question 12) had three freshman majorities in favor in 1995. As seniors, they favored it with four majorities (Liberty, The Citadel, UC-Irvine, and Wisconsin), plus five pluralities above 44 percent (including Dartmouth and Brown). Opposing, and only with pluralities, were Indiana (39 percent), Stanford (39 percent), and Yale (40 percent).

Price controls on health costs (Question 13) had proved popular with majorities at nine schools in our earlier poll. By 1998, eleven majorities (ranging from 55 percent to 72 percent) welcomed them. Even dissenting Liberty, with 50 percent opposed, had a large bloc of seniors (40 percent) in favor.

In 1995, eight majorities plus four pluralities favored **diminishing the federal welfare system** (Question 14). By the time of the senior poll, only four majorities favored that (Liberty, The Citadel, Marquette, and Wisconsin), seven colleges were divided, and Brown produced an opposition majority (54 percent).

As in the earlier survey, the seniors approved, with majorities at eleven colleges, **diminishing all welfare benefits, but substituting jobs, whether government- or private-sponsored** (Question 15). Not one school had a majority opposed. It is notable that, over the three years, while majorities enlarged at five colleges, at another six these were whittled down: Indiana and UCLA, Dartmouth and Michigan, and Yale and Brown.

OPENNESS

Our seniors favored **ensuring minority representation through electoral districting** (Question 16) with majorities at five universities in contrast to their two as freshmen. Four pluralities on other campuses also came out in favor. Only three schools showed much opposition in 1998: The Citadel (a majority), Liberty (44 percent), and Dartmouth (35 percent).

Freshman opinion had opposed **terminating federal financial aid for the arts** (Question 17) with majorities at ten schools. Eleven majorities of seniors did so in 1998 with percentages in the 70s and 80s and with twice as many responding "definitely opposed" rather than "somewhat opposed."

In 1995, only at Wisconsin and Brown did majorities oppose **ending affirmative-action programs enforced by the government or courts** (Question 18). By the follow-up poll, five majorities were against the proposal (UCLA, Michigan, Stanford, Yale, and Brown), backed by near-majorities at two other colleges (UC-Irvine and Dartmouth).

Seniors on seven campuses came much closer to approval (ranging from 42 percent to 48 percent) of **legalizing marijuana** (Question 19) than they did as freshmen. But opponents still held the only majorities (Liberty, The Citadel, Marquette), though that's two fewer than in 1995—UC-Irvine and Indiana slipped to pluralities in opposition (48 percent and 46 percent).

At all twelve schools, majorities ranging from 72 percent to 94 percent opposed **legalizing all drugs** (Question 20). That is indistinguishable from their 1995 response.

The freshman poll had found all twelve colleges with majorities favoring **stricter enforcement of immigration laws** (Question 21). Seven remained by senior year. But the lost majorities at Michigan, Dartmouth, Stanford, Yale, and Brown, and the reduced majorities at UC-Irvine and Indiana, did not shift enough opinion to create opposition majorities (though Brown came close with 49 percent). Rather, students retreated to "indifferent/no opinion."

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Three years before, there were no majorities on either side of the proposal for **reducing legal immigration substantially** (Question 22). Last year, with opposition increasing at most institutions, six majorities against (ranging from 52 percent to 72 percent) were formed: UC-Irvine, UCLA, Dartmouth, Stanford, Yale, and Brown (Michigan just missed with 48 percent). The lone majority in favor belonged to The Citadel (58 percent).

Only Brown produced a majority—much reduced from its 1995 size—in favor of **prohibiting the death penalty** (Question 23). The other Ivies saw their 1995 majorities fade to pluralities (both 44 percent) because so many more seniors responded "no opinion" on this matter than did freshmen. But, as before, eight colleges still opposed such a prohibition with majorities, though four of these as well had been reduced by losses to the "no opinion" ranks.

Indiana's 62 percent brought to ten the number of campus majorities (ranging from 54 percent to 87 percent) refusing to **deny homosexual unions the same legal standing as traditional marriage** (Question 24). Resisting this trend were Liberty (91 percent) and The Citadel (75 percent).

Ten majorities (each greater than 60 percent) disagreed that homosexuals **should be denied the right to adopt children** (Question 25), while majorities at Liberty and The Citadel would do so. The freshman survey had found the colleges split nine to three, but by 1998 views changed at Indiana.

On the proposition that it should be **legally permissible to exclude homosexuals from employment or voluntary positions** where they would be primarily responsible for guiding children (Question 26), majorities above 75 percent at the same ten schools disagreed again. Even at Liberty and The Citadel, percentages in favor of exclusion were reduced (to 77 percent and 66 percent, respectively).

"A SCHOOL DRESS CODE? WHAT, AND TREAT THEM LIKE A BUNCH OF ADOLESCENTS?"

As they did three years before, all twelve colleges gave majorities to discouraging **black separatism as a strategy for helping blacks to adjust to life on a campus with a white majority population** (Question 27). New in 1998 was the increased sentiment on seven campuses to flatly prohibit it (ranging from 15 percent to 34 percent).

Seniors at Brown (59 percent) and Stanford (54 percent) said "yes" but ten other majorities said "no" to **college admissions officers giving preferential consideration to designated minorities** (Question 28). Back in freshman days, Brown, Stanford, and Dartmouth students had been divided on this policy, a Yale majority had favored it, and majorities at the remaining eight colleges had opposed.

Even after the passage of three years, a substantial group on each campus (ranging from 20 percent to 34 percent) was still unsure whether **colleges should de-emphasize Western Civilization courses in favor of courses in non-Western cultures** (Question 29). Still, no majorities supported the idea, while four did form in opposition: Liberty (62 percent), The Citadel (65 percent), Indiana (52 percent), and Dartmouth (56 percent).

Majorities at the twelve institutions continued to say that they **believe in natural rights** (Question 30). Compared with the freshman survey, however, seven of these majorities were smaller thanks to the enlargement of the "unsure" category.

Concerning the relationship between **population growth and economic growth** (Question 31), freshmen had estimated that the former either fosters the latter or is a neutral factor. After three more years of study, pluralities came to prefer the notion that "population growth retards economic growth" (42 percent at UCLA, 39 percent at Michigan, 38 percent at Brown, 37 percent at Wisconsin, 36 percent at UC-Irvine, and 34 percent at Indiana). "Neutral factor" had to battle "retards" to win pluralities at Marquette, Dartmouth, Stanford, and Yale. Only at Liberty (44 percent) and The Citadel (39 percent) was it conceivable, by senior year, that population growth could foster economic growth.

PERSONAL BELIEFS

Regarding seniors' **formal religious affiliations** (Question 32), the response "none" had higher percentages (ranging from 28 percent to 36 percent) than either Roman Catholicism or Protestantism at UCLA, Michigan, and Brown, and at least matched one or the other tradition at Indiana, Dartmouth, Stanford, and Yale. At UC-Irvine, "none" (21 percent) was just slightly smaller in size than either major affiliation. But no such matching was in evidence at Wisconsin, Liberty, The Citadel, or Marquette.

By comparison, the freshman survey had found only UCLA and Brown with numbers for "none" that could rival the major religions. The earlier survey had also found high percentages choosing "other" but these had been cut in half by 1998. And Judaism, which had registered double-digit percentages at five schools in 1995, recorded such size only at Yale and Brown in 1998.

In 1995, twelve freshman majorities of two-thirds or more had said they **believed in immortality** (Question 33); nonbelief was no higher than 28 percent. By 1998, although twelve majorities still existed, four were much reduced: nonbelief topped 30 percent at Stanford (32 percent),

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Dartmouth (33 percent), Yale (35 percent), and Brown (38 percent).

When asked **"in what (if any) religious tradition would you like to raise your children?"** (Question 34) twelve majorities again responded: "My own." The concept of raising children in "none," however, was significantly more popular at six schools: Dartmouth (29 percent), Stanford (29 percent), Michigan (27 percent), Yale (27 percent), UCLA (25 percent), and Brown (24 percent).

There was even more uncertainty in 1998 than in the prior poll as to whether the **religious liberty clause in the First Amendment** is interpreted too strictly, to the disadvantage of religion (Question 35). Once again, a majority at Liberty said "yes" while majorities at the Ivies, Stanford, and UCLA declared the opposite. At all twelve schools, though, those responding "unsure" multiplied—ranging from Liberty's 24 percent to Wisconsin's 53 percent.

The chapels were less crowded. By senior year, **those attending religious services** at least once a week (Question 36) had fallen off considerably at ten colleges, as did those attending "twice a month." Correspondingly, the percentages for those attending "twice a year" grew to double-digits, while the highest percentage recorded for those attending "not at all" rose from 22 percent in 1995 to 33 percent last year. The only colleges having single-digit "not at all" percentages are Liberty, The Citadel, and Marquette.

Praying to God, outside of religious services, (Question 37) was less frequent among seniors than freshmen. Daily prayer was down at nine colleges; praying "several times a week" was down at eight. Those who pray "only at specific crises in my life" increased in number at eight schools. The percentages praying "not at all" also rose to new highs at nine: into the low 30s at UCLA, Dartmouth, Michigan, and Brown; the high 20s at Stanford and Yale; and to 18 percent (each) at UC-Irvine, Indiana, and Wisconsin. Nonetheless, frequent prayer (daily/several times a week) persisted with a median for the twelve colleges of 48 percent (and a range from 28 percent at Brown to 96 percent at Liberty).

Three years before, the students' **approval of such behaviors as homosexuality, abortion, and mercy killing**—especially when taking religious precepts into account (Question 38b)—seemed surprisingly high considering stated, freshman religious affiliations (Question 32). By 1998, seniors were favoring most of these practices with even higher percentages. But not **divorce**. That practice dipped in approval across all twelve campuses when setting aside religious precepts (Question 38a). **Mercy killing**, however, came to rival the high approval levels reached by **abortion** and **homosexuality** on both lists (i.e., on 38a and 38b), and both lists' numbers were within ten percentage points of each other. On eleven campuses (Liberty was again the exception), approval of mercy killing rose above 25 percent (above 50 percent at the Ivies, Stanford, Michigan, and UCLA).

As in 1995, majorities at six schools (ranging from 52 percent at UC-Irvine to 95 percent at Liberty) chose "Christ is divine" when asked **their view of "the person of Christ"** (Question 39). Among the other six, Brown alone showed less than 30 percent holding this view. Since the earlier survey, however, the latter six colleges showed increased percentages for the "another view" response: UCLA and Brown, 42 percent; Dartmouth, 39 percent; Yale, 36 percent; Michigan, 35 percent; and Stanford, 30 percent. The highest percentage responding that "Christ may never have lived at all" was Yale's 13 percent.

1. Which sex are you?

		Male	Female
Liberty	freshmen	47	52
	seniors	***45***	***55***
The Citadel	freshmen	100	0
	seniors	***100***	***0***
Marquette	freshmen	40	59
	seniors	***40***	***60***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	40	59
	seniors	***42***	***58***
Indiana	freshmen	45	54
	seniors	***43***	***57***
UCLA	freshmen	46	53
	seniors	***45***	***55***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	46	53
	seniors	***46***	***54***
Dartmouth	freshmen	46	53
	seniors	***44***	***56***
U. Michigan	freshmen	42	57
	seniors	***41***	***59***
Stanford	freshmen	44	55
	seniors	***44***	***56***
Yale	freshmen	61	38
	seniors	***60***	***40***
Brown	freshmen	43	56
	seniors	***43***	***57***

2. In what sort of school did you receive most of your secondary education?

		Public	Private	Parochial
Liberty	freshmen	76	16	6
	seniors	***77***	***18***	***4***
The Citadel	freshmen	81	15	2
	seniors	***81***	***18***	***1***
Marquette	freshmen	76	11	10
	seniors	***52***	***27***	***21***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	73	23	2
	seniors	***75***	***20***	***5***
Indiana	freshmen	73	20	5
	seniors	***80***	***15***	***4***
UCLA	freshmen	78	15	5
	seniors	***82***	***12***	***6***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	85	8	5
	seniors	***88***	***5***	***7***
Dartmouth	freshmen	67	30	1
	seniors	***69***	***29***	***2***
U. Michigan	freshmen	83	9	6
	seniors	***88***	***7***	***5***
Stanford	freshmen	64	31	3
	seniors	***59***	***37***	***3***
Yale	freshmen	63	34	1
	seniors	***60***	***38***	***2***
Brown	freshmen	58	35	5
	seniors	***62***	***34***	***4***

3. What is your parents' combined annual income? A. Less than $15,000. B. $15,000 to $30,000. C. $30,000 to $50,000. D. $50,000 to $75,000. E. $75,000 to $100,000. F. More than $100,000. G. No Answer.

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Liberty	freshmen	7	15	27	25	11	13	0
	seniors	***5***	***19***	***28***	***23***	***13***	***12***	***0***
The Citadel	freshmen	1	10	16	27	16	28	0
	seniors	***1***	***5***	***17***	***24***	***29***	***23***	***1***
Marquette	freshmen	1	12	20	22	19	21	3
	seniors	***1***	***12***	***15***	***31***	***15***	***23***	***3***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	9	29	21	14	12	13	0

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	seniors	*10*	*19*	*26*	*17*	*10*	*17*	*1*
Indiana	freshmen	3	9	21	27	16	22	0
	seniors	*1*	*12*	*28*	*17*	*19*	*19*	*4*
UCLA	freshmen	1	4	13	30	21	29	0
	seniors	*7*	*10*	*19*	*24*	*17*	*22*	*1*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	3	9	23	28	14	20	1
	seniors	*9*	*16*	*24*	*28*	*13*	*8*	*2*
Dartmouth	freshmen	0	4	9	17	28	40	0
	seniors	*2*	*7*	*10*	*13*	*29*	*38*	*1*
U. Michigan	freshmen	3	6	13	17	21	33	5
	seniors	*4*	*2*	*21*	*9*	*25*	*35*	*4*
Stanford	freshmen	0	6	14	15	20	43	0
	seniors	*3*	*7*	*7*	*11*	*20*	*48*	*4*
Yale	freshmen	0	6	7	13	26	46	0
	seniors	*2*	*6*	*13*	*20*	*13*	*42*	*4*
Brown	freshmen	1	7	8	16	19	47	0
	seniors	*1*	*8*	*7*	*16*	*16*	*47*	*5*

4. Which of the following designations most nearly describes your own political temperament?

		Conservative	Liberal	Independent
Liberty	freshmen	80	4	14
	seniors	*82*	*3*	*15*
The Citadel	freshmen	69	12	17
	seniors	*70*	*11*	*19*
Marquette	freshmen	36	25	37
	seniors	*36*	*34*	*30*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	34	36	28
	seniors	*35*	*37*	*28*
Indiana	freshmen	38	29	31
	seniors	*29*	*39*	*32*
UCLA	freshmen	28	39	31
	seniors	*27*	*44*	*29*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	27	30	41
	seniors	*25*	*42*	*33*
Dartmouth	freshmen	27	36	35
	seniors	*24*	*35*	*41*
U. Michigan	freshmen	30	37	31
	seniors	*23*	*46*	*31*
Stanford	freshmen	31	33	34
	seniors	*21*	*45*	*34*
Yale	freshmen	26	40	32
	seniors	*17*	*49*	*34*
Brown	freshmen	14	54	30
	seniors	*9*	*66*	*25*

5. With which political party are you affiliated, either in spirit or actual membership?

		Republican	Democrat	Other	None
Liberty	freshmen	84	3	2	9
	seniors	*81*	*4*	*4*	*11*
The Citadel	freshmen	47	45	2	4
	seniors	*62*	*18*	*2*	*17*
Marquette	freshmen	35	20	3	40
	seniors	*32*	*29*	*2*	*37*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	32	40	4	22
	seniors	*28*	*35*	*2*	*34*
Indiana	freshmen	44	38	4	12
	seniors	*30*	*31*	*6*	*33*
UCLA	freshmen	25	32	2	39
	seniors	*24*	*45*	*1*	*29*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	30	35	6	27
	seniors	*18*	*42*	*3*	*35*
Dartmouth	freshmen	26	32	3	37
	seniors	*21*	*32*	*3*	*44*
U. Michigan	freshmen	27	33	2	36
	seniors	*19*	*41*	*2*	*38*
Stanford	freshmen	29	36	3	30
	seniors	*19*	*37*	*7*	*36*
Yale	freshmen	27	37	4	30
	seniors	*13*	*49*	*3*	*35*
Brown	freshmen	10	42	3	43
	seniors	*11*	*53*	*2*	*33*

6-23. Indicate your views on the following political proposals for the United States by writing in a letter signifying the following: A. Definitely in favor. B. Somewhat in favor. C. Indifferent/no opinion. D. Somewhat opposed. E. Definitely opposed.

6. Government sponsorship of investment policies

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	1	7	72	13	5
	seniors	*3*	*13*	*39*	*21*	*24*
The Citadel	freshmen	3	5	70	16	4
	seniors	*8*	*30*	*32*	*13*	*15*
Marquette	freshmen	3	15	56	17	7
	seniors	*4*	*18*	*55*	*18*	*5*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	4	9	69	14	2
	seniors	*8*	*26*	*45*	*11*	*10*
Indiana	freshmen	2	17	62	15	2
	seniors	*2*	*21*	*62*	*6*	*7*
UCLA	freshmen	6	10	70	7	5
	seniors	*10*	*21*	*47*	*16*	*6*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	5	11	70	10	2
	seniors	*9*	*25*	*49*	*8*	*8*
Dartmouth	freshmen	2	14	75	1	6
	seniors	*3*	*23*	*52*	*12*	*10*
U. Michigan	freshmen	4	19	64	8	3
	seniors	*6*	*19*	*56*	*13*	*6*
Stanford	freshmen	4	12	66	15	1
	seniors	*4*	*17*	*62*	*11*	*3*
Yale	freshmen	1	15	77	0	5
	seniors	*10*	*22*	*48*	*13*	*5*
Brown	freshmen	9	7	70	2	10
	seniors	*7*	*16*	*60*	*11*	*4*

7. Government-based health insurance

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	9	23	14	4	47
	seniors	*8*	*19*	*8*	*16*	*48*
The Citadel	freshmen	11	22	15	22	28
	seniors	*14*	*24*	*13*	*22*	*26*
Marquette	freshmen	23	25	0	38	12
	seniors	*18*	*47*	*9*	*17*	*9*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	25	34	3	20	16
	seniors	*40*	*28*	*12*	*11*	*9*
Indiana	freshmen	22	28	12	20	16
	seniors	*26*	*40*	*10*	*15*	*9*
UCLA	freshmen	34	31	6	19	8
	seniors	*24*	*49*	*11*	*12*	*4*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	36	19	0	22	21
	seniors	*30*	*39*	*9*	*16*	*6*
Dartmouth	freshmen	27	30	0	27	14
	seniors	*30*	*38*	*4*	*21*	*7*
U. Michigan	freshmen	24	33	6	19	16
	seniors	*22*	*36*	*11*	*25*	*6*
Stanford	freshmen	28	33	1	25	11
	seniors	*17*	*43*	*12*	*16*	*10*
Yale	freshmen	26	32	0	28	12
	seniors	*30*	*36*	*12*	*15*	*6*
Brown	freshmen	39	45	0	14	0
	seniors	*41*	*38*	*7*	*7*	*4*

8. Continued Social Security programs sponsored by the government and compulsory in character

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	23	19	14	23	19
	seniors	*14*	*21*	*14*	*27*	*24*
The Citadel	freshmen	26	20	18	24	10
	seniors	*25*	*25*	*6*	*24*	*17*
Marquette	freshmen	26	33	10	18	11
	seniors	*31*	*36*	*10*	*13*	*8*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	17	32	12	21	16
	seniors	*38*	*30*	*15*	*8*	*9*
Indiana	freshmen	31	24	20	17	6
	seniors	*43*	*32*	*9*	*13*	*3*
UCLA	freshmen	30	25	17	13	13
	seniors	*35*	*40*	*8*	*14*	*3*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	32	30	9	19	8
	seniors	*32*	*41*	*13*	*10*	*4*
Dartmouth	freshmen	22	33	15	24	4
	seniors	*31*	*34*	*11*	*18*	*6*
U. Michigan	freshmen	26	39	14	12	7

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	seniors	***29***	***37***	***13***	***10***	***11***
Stanford	freshmen	24	30	15	22	7
	seniors	***21***	***43***	***11***	***17***	***7***
Yale	freshmen	30	27	15	18	8
	seniors	***35***	***36***	***13***	***11***	***5***
Brown	freshmen	35	41	16	0	6
	seniors	***43***	***39***	***6***	***7***	***3***

9. The privatization of Social Security

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	20	27	29	14	8
	seniors	***35***	***21***	***27***	***12***	***5***
The Citadel	freshmen	17	30	23	19	9
	seniors	***23***	***25***	***24***	***17***	***10***
Marquette	freshmen	12	26	40	13	7
	seniors	***10***	***30***	***30***	***20***	***9***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	18	20	26	21	13
	seniors	***18***	***15***	***33***	***16***	***16***
Indiana	freshmen	11	21	34	29	3
	seniors	***9***	***15***	***39***	***26***	***10***
UCLA	freshmen	7	21	39	19	12
	seniors	***9***	***27***	***28***	***23***	***13***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	8	20	39	21	10
	seniors	***13***	***29***	***26***	***15***	***15***
Dartmouth	freshmen	5	13	44	21	15
	seniors	***14***	***15***	***32***	***31***	***8***
U. Michigan	freshmen	9	18	37	22	12
	seniors	***11***	***21***	***35***	***21***	***12***
Stanford	freshmen	13	18	30	20	17
	seniors	***10***	***19***	***38***	***24***	***8***
Yale	freshmen	7	15	46	18	12
	seniors	***13***	***17***	***28***	***29***	***12***
Brown	freshmen	2	10	31	27	30
	seniors	***12***	***15***	***25***	***32***	***14***

10. Racial parity in the sentencing of criminals (proportional representation in incarceration)

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	4	9	39	14	32
	seniors	***12***	***11***	***30***	***9***	***38***
The Citadel	freshmen	2	10	19	24	42
	seniors	***9***	***5***	***23***	***6***	***55***
Marquette	freshmen	6	6	31	16	39
	seniors	***7***	***9***	***32***	***19***	***32***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	4	7	30	22	35
	seniors	***16***	***6***	***32***	***17***	***29***
Indiana	freshmen	5	8	30	17	38
	seniors	***10***	***10***	***31***	***13***	***34***
UCLA	freshmen	10	9	27	21	31
	seniors	***15***	***5***	***28***	***23***	***29***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	8	11	27	18	34
	seniors	*15*	*10*	*39*	*10*	*26*
Dartmouth	freshmen	5	12	16	34	32
	seniors	***8***	***10***	***20***	***10***	***52***
U. Michigan	freshmen	8	9	29	14	38
	seniors	***3***	***14***	***31***	***20***	***32***
Stanford	freshmen	6	13	28	19	32
	seniors	***17***	***12***	***20***	***16***	***31***
Yale	freshmen	4	18	27	24	25
	seniors	***17***	***15***	***16***	***18***	***32***
Brown	freshmen	10	9	29	16	34
	seniors	***13***	***15***	***22***	***26***	***24***

11. Tax-supported college financial assistance

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	33	19	8	22	16
	seniors	***32***	***32***	***8***	***5***	***22***
The Citadel	freshmen	43	31	4	11	9
	seniors	***45***	***34***	***6***	***10***	***5***
Marquette	freshmen	47	31	4	9	7
	seniors	***46***	***39***	***3***	***9***	***2***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	45	37	5	7	4
	seniors	***58***	***27***	***8***	***4***	***3***
Indiana	freshmen	40	36	7	8	7
	seniors	***47***	***38***	***4***	***6***	***4***
UCLA	freshmen	48	30	3	11	6
	seniors	***65***	***18***	***5***		
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	38	40	3		
	seniors	***47***	***33***	***9***		
Dartmouth	freshmen	43	27	4	19	
	seniors	***51***	***37***	***5***	***4***	
U. Michigan	freshmen	41	37	9	8	
	seniors	***40***	***45***	***3***	***9***	***3***
Stanford	freshmen	38	40	9	9	1
	seniors	***52***	***33***	***8***	***5***	***1***
Yale	freshmen	30	36	8	16	8
	seniors	***50***	***36***	***8***	***4***	***2***
Brown	freshmen	51	30	7	9	1
	seniors	***60***	***32***	***5***	***2***	***0***

12. Strategic-defense research and development

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	28	27	13	16	14
	seniors	***32***	***40***	***18***	***8***	***2***
The Citadel	freshmen	37	55	0	6	0
	seniors	***51***	***37***	***5***	***4***	***2***
Marquette	freshmen	18	37	14	15	14
	seniors	***11***	***35***	***24***	***22***	***8***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	12	31	20	29	6
	seniors	***19***	***36***	***18***	***21***	***6***
Indiana	freshmen	17	26	22	24	9
	seniors	***11***	***26***	***23***	***32***	***7***
UCLA	freshmen	8	27	23	25	15
	seniors	***14***	***31***	***23***	***18***	***14***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	9	28	27	22	12
	seniors	***14***	***40***	***18***	***20***	***8***
Dartmouth	freshmen	18	25	12	28	14
	seniors	***14***	***35***	***12***	***25***	***14***
U. Michigan	freshmen	8	27	24	26	13
	seniors	***12***	***31***	***19***	***25***	***13***
Stanford	freshmen	7	25	24	26	16
	seniors	***17***	***19***	***23***	***27***	***12***
Yale	freshmen	22	26	13	25	12
	seniors	***12***	***26***	***22***	***27***	***13***
Brown	freshmen	5	13	21	35	24
	seniors	***7***	***37***	***15***	***24***	***17***

13. Government price controls on health costs

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	14	23	13	25	23
	seniors	***17***	***23***	***10***	***24***	***26***
The Citadel	freshmen	17	20	20	20	21
	seniors	***19***	***36***	***16***	***15***	***13***
Marquette	freshmen	26	34	14	15	9
	seniors	***28***	***30***	***15***	***20***	***7***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	25	30	12	25	6
	seniors	***34***	***26***	***13***	***10***	***17***
Indiana	freshmen	28	37	13	14	6
	seniors	***33***	***34***	***10***	***16***	***6***
UCLA	freshmen	33	27	3	25	10
	seniors	***28***	***38***	***17***	***10***	***7***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	33	28	23	7	7
	seniors	***33***	***39***	***9***	***11***	***7***
Dartmouth	freshmen	33	16	12	25	12
	seniors	***26***	***41***	***7***	***17***	***9***
U. Michigan	freshmen	24	37	13	17	7
	seniors	***30***	***36***	***13***	***17***	***4***
Stanford	freshmen	22	31	18	19	8
	seniors	***14***	***44***	***11***	***20***	***8***
Yale	freshmen	41	17	13	16	11
	seniors	***23***	***38***	***15***	***15***	***8***
Brown	freshmen	27	33	17	14	7
	seniors	***31***	***38***	***5***	***17***	***7***

14. Diminishing the federal social welfare system

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	47	19	0	28	4
	seniors	***58***	***20***	***9***	***7***	***6***
The Citadel	freshmen	31	27	11	16	13
	seniors	***51***	***25***	***8***	***10***	***5***
Marquette	freshmen	39	29	11	14	5
	seniors	***18***	***43***	***11***	***17***	***11***

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UC-Irvine	freshmen	42	21	12	20	3
	seniors	***19***	***26***	***12***	***24***	***18***
Indiana	freshmen	28	19	13	24	14
	seniors	***20***	***29***	***12***	***26***	***13***
UCLA	freshmen	20	26	22	15	15
	seniors	***20***	***23***	***11***	***29***	***17***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	20	27	15	21	15
	seniors	***22***	***35***	***13***	***22***	***8***
Dartmouth	freshmen	26	29	20	15	8
	seniors	***18***	***29***	***11***	***29***	***13***
U. Michigan	freshmen	19	27	10	26	16
	seniors	***20***	***25***	***12***	***29***	***14***
Stanford	freshmen	34	22	13	16	13
	seniors	***12***	***27***	***14***	***30***	***16***
Yale	freshmen	29	27	12	10	20
	seniors	***19***	***24***	***9***	***28***	***20***
Brown	freshmen	19	32	8	21	18
	seniors	***10***	***22***	***12***	***20***	***34***

15. Diminishing all welfare benefits, but substituting jobs, whether government- or private-sponsored

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	23	38	4	19	14
	seniors	***45***	***37***	***6***	***6***	***6***
The Citadel	freshmen	26	38	20	7	7
	seniors	***48***	***29***	***10***	***9***	***4***
Marquette	freshmen	18	31	10	26	13
	seniors	***28***	***31***	***13***	***18***	***10***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	27	27	19	17	8
	seniors	***24***	***39***	***9***	***15***	***13***
Indiana	freshmen	29	35	11	18	5
	seniors	***30***	***29***	***6***	***22***	***13***
UCLA	freshmen	35	34	10	12	7
	seniors	***24***	***36***	***10***	***17***	***13***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	30	36	17	7	8
	seniors	***26***	***45***	***9***	***12***	***8***
Dartmouth	freshmen	36	36	10	12	6
	seniors	***20***	***35***	***13***	***19***	***13***
U. Michigan	freshmen	28	36	10	17	7
	seniors	***29***	***28***	***10***	***23***	***10***
Stanford	freshmen	21	36	20	11	10
	seniors	***10***	***47***	***15***	***17***	***11***
Yale	freshmen	34	26	9	19	10
	seniors	***19***	***37***	***10***	***20***	***14***
Brown	freshmen	28	23	15	21	11
	seniors	***19***	***27***	***9***	***32***	***13***

16. Ensuring minority representation through electoral districting

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	19	28	9	18	24
	seniors	***21***	***9***	***26***	***21***	***23***
The Citadel	freshmen	2	18	27	23	28
	seniors	***6***	***9***	***17***	***19***	***49***
Marquette	freshmen	14	24	21	18	21
	seniors	***10***	***31***	***31***	***20***	***8***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	2	18	37	25	16
	seniors	***34***	***26***	***24***	***8***	***8***
Indiana	freshmen	8	16	33	25	18
	seniors	***10***	***27***	***34***	***18***	***11***
UCLA	freshmen	11	27	26	19	15
	seniors	***31***	***25***	***21***	***12***	***11***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	21	29	11	14	23
	seniors	***19***	***22***	***36***	***12***	***11***
Dartmouth	freshmen	14	29	28	18	9
	seniors	***11***	***24***	***30***	***26***	***9***
U. Michigan	freshmen	12	28	27	16	15
	seniors	***13***	***31***	***29***	***19***	***8***
Stanford	freshmen	7	29	32	26	4
	seniors	***18***	***38***	***19***	***18***	***5***
Yale	freshmen	11	28	32	13	14
	seniors	***14***	***40***	***21***	***12***	***13***
Brown	freshmen	18	32	26	9	13
	seniors	***25***	***37***	***26***	***8***	***4***

17. Terminating federal financial aid for the arts

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	16	27	26	10	19
	seniors	***24***	***16***	***21***	***14***	***24***
The Citadel	freshmen	5	19	29	21	24
	seniors	***10***	***11***	***29***	***30***	***20***
Marquette	freshmen	7	21	16	22	32
	seniors	***3***	***5***	***22***	***19***	***51***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	7	13	18	29	31
	seniors	***6***	***3***	***23***	***28***	***40***
Indiana	freshmen	4	12	16	35	31
	seniors	***3***	***5***	***15***	***23***	***54***
UCLA	freshmen	12	10	17	20	39
	seniors	***4***	***7***	***11***	***26***	***52***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	2	18	10	28	40
	seniors	***10***	***5***	***18***	***31***	***36***
Dartmouth	freshmen	2	21	17	22	36
	seniors	***1***	***5***	***12***	***27***	***55***
U. Michigan	freshmen	4	11	17	30	36
	seniors	***4***	***3***	***14***	***24***	***55***
Stanford	freshmen	6	14	15	30	33
	seniors	***2***	***5***	***5***	***32***	***54***
Yale	freshmen	4	12	16	35	31
	seniors	***3***	***4***	***9***	***14***	***70***
Brown	freshmen	3	11	21	27	36
	seniors	***2***	***0***	***8***	***19***	***71***

18. Ending affirmative-action programs enforced by the government or the courts

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	25	29	21	15	8
	seniors	***41***	***18***	***22***	***8***	***10***
The Citadel	freshmen	24	28	11	23	12
	seniors	***72***	***6***	***7***	***7***	***7***
Marquette	freshmen	35	29	11	20	3
	seniors	***20***	***27***	***19***	***25***	***8***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	12	25	20	25	16
	seniors	***22***	***15***	***15***	***19***	***29***
Indiana	freshmen	10	19	35	23	11
	seniors	***21***	***21***	***16***	***25***	***15***
UCLA	freshmen	21	24	20	20	13
	seniors	***22***	***18***	***7***	***26***	***27***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	6	24	17	30	21
	seniors	***15***	***20***	***26***	***23***	***16***
Dartmouth	freshmen	20	29	10	27	12
	seniors	***21***	***23***	***9***	***32***	***15***
U. Michigan	freshmen	15	19	22	26	16
	seniors	***14***	***23***	***13***	***24***	***26***
Stanford	freshmen	12	19	22	25	20
	seniors	***10***	***17***	***11***	***28***	***31***
Yale	freshmen	15	18	22	26	17
	seniors	***15***	***22***	***8***	***29***	***25***
Brown	freshmen	18	17	11	26	26
	seniors	***7***	***20***	***9***	***23***	***40***

19. Legalizing marijuana

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	8	0	0	5	86
	seniors	***6***	***4***	***4***	***6***	***79***
The Citadel	freshmen	4	23	21	18	32
	seniors	***11***	***10***	***7***	***9***	***63***
Marquette	freshmen	13	19	18	17	31
	seniors	***8***	***15***	***11***	***18***	***48***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	4	6	9	25	54
	seniors	***17***	***17***	***18***	***11***	***37***
Indiana	freshmen	15	20	9	31	23
	seniors	***17***	***21***	***16***	***11***	***35***
UCLA	freshmen	11	18	24	8	39
	seniors	***20***	***27***	***20***	***8***	***25***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	16	23	12	15	32
	seniors	***18***	***25***	***14***	***10***	***33***
Dartmouth	freshmen	18	21	16	13	30
	seniors	***22***	***22***	***17***	***10***	***29***
U. Michigan	freshmen	18	21	9	16	34
	seniors	***17***	***31***	***15***	***15***	***22***
Stanford	freshmen	18	13	24	11	32
	seniors	***13***	***29***	***21***	***14***	***22***
Yale	freshmen	16	20	15	12	35
	seniors	***17***	***25***	***20***	***11***	***27***

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Brown	freshmen	15	17	22	15	29
	seniors	***23***	***23***	***14***	***16***	***24***

20. Legalizing all drugs

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	0	4	0	4	90
	seniors	***2***	***1***	***2***	***4***	***90***
The Citadel	freshmen	1	6	5	6	80
	seniors	***1***	***2***	***4***	***5***	***88***
Marquette	freshmen	0	9	4	15	70
	seniors	***0***	***1***	***7***	***7***	***85***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	3	5	6	17	67
	seniors	***10***	***3***	***8***	***25***	***54***
Indiana	freshmen	2	3	6	13	75
	seniors	***7***	***4***	***8***	***13***	***68***
UCLA	freshmen	2	6	15	14	61
	seniors	***5***	***11***	***6***	***16***	***62***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	3	11	5	14	65
	seniors	***6***	***9***	***13***	***8***	***64***
Dartmouth	freshmen	3	13	2	19	61
	seniors	***2***	***8***	***3***	***17***	***70***
U. Michigan	freshmen	3	5	2	20	68
	seniors	***3***	***15***	***8***	***16***	***58***
Stanford	freshmen	8	14	4	15	57
	seniors	***2***	***7***	***7***	***23***	***60***
Yale	freshmen	4	11	5	16	62
	seniors	***6***	***7***	***5***	***25***	***57***
Brown	freshmen	9	16	1	14	58
	seniors	***3***	***10***	***8***	***17***	***62***

21. Stricter enforcement of immigration laws

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	47	23	19	4	4
	seniors	***43***	***28***	***15***	***11***	***2***
The Citadel	freshmen	38	22	26	10	2
	seniors	***64***	***24***	***8***	***2***	***2***
Marquette	freshmen	29	22	15	23	9
	seniors	***29***	***36***	***18***	***11***	***6***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	36	22	20	17	3
	seniors	***29***	***26***	***21***	***16***	***8***
Indiana	freshmen	30	36	18	12	2
	seniors	***29***	***23***	***27***	***14***	***6***
UCLA	freshmen	29	23	3	24	19
	seniors	***20***	***36***	***17***	***17***	***10***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	35	17	18	23	5
	seniors	***28***	***27***	***25***	***14***	***6***
Dartmouth	freshmen	25	36	20	15	2
	seniors	***14***	***28***	***31***	***16***	***11***
U. Michigan	freshmen	29	32	19	14	4
	seniors	***20***	***23***	***28***	***20***	***9***
Stanford	freshmen	21	40	9	14	14
	seniors	***7***	***30***	***23***	***29***	***9***
Yale	freshmen	21	31	19	23	4
	seniors	***15***	***20***	***22***	***27***	***15***
Brown	freshmen	28	30	19	14	7
	seniors	***10***	***14***	***26***	***29***	***20***

22. Reducing legal immigration substantially

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	14	23	38	20	3
	seniors	***17***	***25***	***26***	***20***	***11***
The Citadel	freshmen	23	24	27	19	5
	seniors	***34***	***24***	***23***	***13***	***6***
Marquette	freshmen	9	20	27	23	19
	seniors	***10***	***20***	***28***	***25***	***16***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	12	16	29	27	14
	seniors	***14***	***9***	***25***	***29***	***23***
Indiana	freshmen	12	27	28	20	11
	seniors	***14***	***18***	***29***	***25***	***13***
UCLA	freshmen	10	28	25	27	8
	seniors	***8***	***17***	***16***	***27***	***32***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	12	18	30	27	11
	seniors	***10***	***24***	***27***	***24***	***15***
Dartmouth	freshmen	18	11	31	25	13
	seniors	***6***	***14***	***25***	***30***	***25***
U. Michigan	freshmen	14	18	29	25	12
	seniors	***3***	***21***	***28***	***25***	***23***
Stanford	freshmen	23	17	39	5	14
	seniors	***4***	***9***	***20***	***29***	***36***
Yale	freshmen	13	18	29	26	12
	seniors	***4***	***7***	***17***	***25***	***47***
Brown	freshmen	17	18	29	25	9
	seniors	***3***	***9***	***16***	***28***	***44***

23. Prohibiting the death penalty

		A	B	C	D	E
Liberty	freshmen	10	9	0	16	63
	seniors	***7***	***3***	***8***	***14***	***67***
The Citadel	freshmen	2	11	0	31	54
	seniors	***7***	***4***	***8***	***10***	***71***
Marquette	freshmen	13	13	9	29	34
	seniors	***24***	***11***	***14***	***29***	***22***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	8	14	10	22	44
	seniors	***7***	***12***	***13***	***23***	***45***
Indiana	freshmen	7	13	1	30	47
	seniors	***16***	***11***	***16***	***24***	***33***
UCLA	freshmen	18	22	6	21	31
	seniors	***15***	***15***	***16***	***22***	***32***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	10	7	12	39	30
	seniors	***12***	***9***	***19***	***22***	***38***
Dartmouth	freshmen	19	33	5	27	14
	seniors	***33***	***11***	***16***	***18***	***22***
U. Michigan	freshmen	12	10	14	27	35
	seniors	***14***	***14***	***17***	***22***	***33***
Stanford	freshmen	9	14	11	24	40
	seniors	***17***	***22***	***13***	***22***	***25***
Yale	freshmen	28	23	3	20	24
	seniors	***29***	***15***	***14***	***17***	***25***
Brown	freshmen	32	30	2	19	15
	seniors	***37***	***17***	***16***	***12***	***17***

24–26. Please give your opinion on the following three statements:

24. Relationships between male homosexual couples or female homosexual couples should not be granted the same legal standing as traditional marriage between heterosexuals.

		Agree	Disagree
Liberty	freshmen	95	4
	seniors	***91***	***9***
The Citadel	freshmen	96	3
	seniors	***75***	***24***
Marquette	freshmen	40	59
	seniors	***37***	***62***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	35	64
	seniors	***44***	***54***
Indiana	freshmen	58	41
	seniors	***35***	***62***
UCLA	freshmen	30	69
	seniors	***27***	***71***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	24	75
	seniors	***38***	***61***
Dartmouth	freshmen	23	76
	seniors	***22***	***78***
U. Michigan	freshmen	32	67
	seniors	***16***	***83***
Stanford	freshmen	21	78
	seniors	***25***	***73***
Yale	freshmen	21	78
	seniors	***32***	***66***
Brown	freshmen	13	86
	seniors	***13***	***87***

25. Gay and lesbian couples/individuals should be denied the right to adopt children.

		Agree	Disagree
Liberty	freshmen	95	4
	seniors	***94***	***6***
The Citadel	freshmen	84	15
	seniors	***74***	***26***
Marquette	freshmen	38	61
	seniors	***31***	***66***

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UC-Irvine	freshmen	37	62
	seniors	*35*	*62*
Indiana	freshmen	67	32
	seniors	*33*	*65*
UCLA	freshmen	27	72
	seniors	*32*	*66*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	29	70
	seniors	*30*	*67*
Dartmouth	freshmen	30	69
	seniors	*22*	*78*
U. Michigan	freshmen	33	66
	seniors	*21*	*78*
Stanford	freshmen	14	85
	seniors	*22*	*74*
Yale	freshmen	25	74
	seniors	*23*	*72*
Brown	freshmen	14	85
	seniors	*15*	*85*

26. It should be legally permissible to exclude homosexuals from employment or volunteer positions where they would be primarily responsible for guiding children.

		Agree	Disagree
Liberty	freshmen	76	23
	seniors	*77*	*23*
The Citadel	freshmen	70	29
	seniors	*66*	*31*
Marquette	freshmen	13	86
	seniors	*10*	*89*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	23	76
	seniors	*22*	*75*
Indiana	freshmen	21	78
	seniors	*14*	*85*
UCLA	freshmen	12	87
	seniors	*18*	*81*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	9	90
	seniors	*12*	*85*
Dartmouth	freshmen	6	93
	seniors	*5*	*95*
U. Michigan	freshmen	14	85
	seniors	*6*	*94*
Stanford	freshmen	11	88
	seniors	*9*	*90*
Yale	freshmen	0	100
	seniors	*10*	*89*
Brown	freshmen	1	98
	seniors	*4*	*95*

27. Should black separatism on campus be encouraged, discouraged, or prohibited as a strategy for helping blacks to adjust to life on a campus with a white majority population?

		Encouraged	Discouraged	Prohibited
Liberty	freshmen	9	66	23
	seniors	*12*	*68*	*17*
The Citadel	freshmen	6	60	34
	seniors	*7*	*58*	*34*
Marquette	freshmen	7	76	15
	seniors	*7*	*74*	*16*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	17	76	5
	seniors	*9*	*66*	*22*
Indiana	freshmen	16	81	1
	seniors	*15*	*66*	*15*
UCLA	freshmen	13	80	5
	seniors	*17*	*61*	*20*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	14	77	7
	seniors	*11*	*67*	*20*
Dartmouth	freshmen	15	79	4
	seniors	*10*	*82*	*2*
U. Michigan	freshmen	10	76	12
	seniors	*15*	*73*	*9*
Stanford	freshmen	15	77	6
	seniors	*15*	*73*	*4*
Yale	freshmen	16	75	7
	seniors	*8*	*75*	*8*
Brown	freshmen	15	79	4
	seniors	*15*	*69*	*7*

28. Should college admission offices give preferential consideration to designated minorities?

		Yes	No	No Answer
Liberty	freshmen	33	66	0
	seniors	*13*	*87*	*0*
The Citadel	freshmen	20	79	0
	seniors	*8*	*92*	*0*
Marquette	freshmen	11	88	0
	seniors	*18*	*81*	*1*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	38	53	7
	seniors	*41*	*55*	*4*
Indiana	freshmen	31	68	0
	seniors	*17*	*81*	*2*
UCLA	freshmen	31	54	13
	seniors	*39*	*61*	*0*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	23	76	0
	seniors	*26*	*73*	*1*
Dartmouth	freshmen	42	49	7
	seniors	*33*	*67*	*0*
U. Michigan	freshmen	24	75	0
	seniors	*42*	*54*	*4*
Stanford	freshmen	39	45	14
	seniors	*54*	*44*	*2*
Yale	freshmen	51	42	5
	seniors	*44*	*53*	*3*
Brown	freshmen	48	43	7
	seniors	*59*	*40*	*1*

29. Should colleges de-emphasize Western Civilization courses in favor of courses in non-Western cultures?

		Yes	No	Unsure
Liberty	freshmen	14	33	51
	seniors	*15*	*62*	*21*
The Citadel	freshmen	6	67	25
	seniors	*15*	*65*	*20*
Marquette	freshmen	12	45	41
	seniors	*24*	*47*	*29*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	26	30	42
	seniors	*23*	*45*	*32*
Indiana	freshmen	26	37	35
	seniors	*18*	*52*	*28*
UCLA	freshmen	31	27	40
	seniors	*36*	*33*	*31*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	20	39	39
	seniors	*26*	*40*	*34*
Dartmouth	freshmen	33	17	48
	seniors	*22*	*56*	*22*
U. Michigan	freshmen	16	37	45
	seniors	*29*	*37*	*34*
Stanford	freshmen	23	37	38
	seniors	*40*	*39*	*21*
Yale	freshmen	25	30	43
	seniors	*28*	*45*	*27*
Brown	freshmen	42	19	37
	seniors	*37*	*31*	*32*

30. Do you believe in natural rights?

		Yes	No	No Answer
Liberty	freshmen	85	8	5
	seniors	*67*	*20*	*13*
The Citadel	freshmen	79	13	6
	seniors	*76*	*17*	*7*
Marquette	freshmen	83	9	6
	seniors	*94*	*3*	*3*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	83	8	7
	seniors	*79*	*10*	*11*
Indiana	freshmen	61	17	20
	seniors	*81*	*6*	*11*
UCLA	freshmen	80	9	9
	seniors	*79*	*10*	*11*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	76	12	10
	seniors	*82*	*8*	*10*
Dartmouth	freshmen	82	7	9
	seniors	*73*	*13*	*14*
U. Michigan	freshmen	81	6	11
	seniors	*72*	*17*	*11*
Stanford	freshmen	76	14	8

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	seniors	***76***	***7***	***17***
Yale	freshmen	79	9	10
	seniors	***80***	***13***	***7***
Brown	freshmen	85	2	11
	seniors	***71***	***12***	***17***

31. In your estimation, what is the relationship between a nation's population growth and its economic growth? 1. Population growth retards economic growth. 2. Population growth fosters economic growth. 3. Population growth is a neutral factor with respect to economic growth.

		Retards	Fosters	Neutral	No Answer
Liberty	freshmen	19	40	39	0
	seniors	***18***	***44***	***31***	***7***
The Citadel	freshmen	24	36	38	0
	seniors	***24***	***39***	***33***	***4***
Marquette	freshmen	25	36	37	0
	seniors	***30***	***23***	***45***	***2***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	27	39	28	4
	seniors	***36***	***29***	***33***	***2***
Indiana	freshmen	32	33	33	0
	seniors	***34***	***29***	***30***	***5***
UCLA	freshmen	30	31	34	3
	seniors	***42***	***17***	***35***	***6***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	27	42	29	0
	seniors	***37***	***33***	***27***	***3***
Dartmouth	freshmen	37	31	30	0
	seniors	***35***	***20***	***38***	***7***
U. Michigan	freshmen	39	25	27	0
	seniors	***39***	***26***	***30***	***5***
Stanford	freshmen	25	36	37	0
	seniors	***33***	***21***	***38***	***8***
Yale	freshmen	29	35	34	0
	seniors	***32***	***22***	***37***	***9***
Brown	freshmen	39	25	34	0
	seniors	***38***	***27***	***28***	***7***

32. With which of the following religious traditions are you formally affiliated? A. Roman Catholicism. B. Protestantism. C. Islam. D. Eastern Orthodoxy. E. Judaism. F. Other. G. None.

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Liberty	freshmen	2	61	0	0	0	34	1
	seniors	***2***	***79***	***0***	***0***	***0***	***17***	***2***
Liberty	freshmen	27	65	0	0	0	3	3
	seniors	***18***	***72***	***1***	***1***	***1***	***6***	***1***
Marquette	freshmen	68	16	0	1	0	7	6
	seniors	***73***	***14***	***1***	***0***	***1***	***6***	***5***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	27	20	1	3	0	38	9
	seniors	***28***	***25***	***4***	***0***	***3***	***19***	***21***
Indiana	freshmen	30	41	0	0	5	17	5
	seniors	***22***	***36***	***0***	***0***	***5***	***14***	***23***
UCLA	freshmen	28	19	7	0	5	9	30
	seniors	***18***	***21***	***1***	***1***	***9***	***14***	***36***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	36	23	1	0	4	11	19
	seniors	***37***	***25***	***3***	***0***	***5***	***1***	***13***
Dartmouth	freshmen	23	25	0	0	12	13	20
	seniors	***30***	***27***	***0***	***1***	***8***	***7***	***27***
U. Michigan	freshmen	27	21	0	0	14	13	20
	seniors	***25***	***22***	***2***	***0***	***6***	***17***	***28***
Stanford	freshmen	23	22	0	0	13	18	22
	seniors	***23***	***28***	***0***	***1***	***8***	***13***	***27***
Yale	freshmen	24	23	0	1	13	20	17
	seniors	***25***	***26***	***2***	***1***	***15***	***6***	***25***
Brown	freshmen	21	16	1	0	19	12	29
	seniors	***17***	***22***	***4***	***0***	***19***	***7***	***31***

33. Do you believe in immortality, if this is taken to mean the continued existence of the individual soul as a surviving entity after the end of organic life?

		Yes	No	No Answer
Liberty	freshmen	88	11	0
	seniors	***87***	***13***	***0***
The Citadel	freshmen	86	13	0
	seniors	***86***	***14***	***0***
Marquette	freshmen	77	14	7
	seniors	***91***	***7***	***2***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	69	25	5
	seniors	***76***	***24***	***0***
Indiana	freshmen	72	27	0
	seniors	***77***	***18***	***5***
UCLA	freshmen	71	26	1
	seniors	***68***	***28***	***4***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	72	20	6
	seniors	***82***	***12***	***6***
Dartmouth	freshmen	73	20	5
	seniors	***59***	***33***	***8***
U. Michigan	freshmen	71	23	4
	seniors	***72***	***27***	***1***
Stanford	freshmen	67	27	4
	seniors	***61***	***32***	***7***
Yale	freshmen	71	21	6
	seniors	***60***	***35***	***5***
Brown	freshmen	67	28	3
	seniors	***57***	***38***	***5***

34. In what (if any) religious tradition would you like to raise your children?

		My own	Another	None	No Answer
Liberty	freshmen	90	9	0	0
	seniors	***96***	***1***	***3***	***0***
The Citadel	freshmen	92	5	1	0
	seniors	***95***	***3***	***2***	***0***
Marquette	freshmen	85	3	10	0
	seniors	***79***	***12***	***7***	***2***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	70	8	19	1
	seniors	***79***	***1***	***19***	***1***
Indiana	freshmen	75	5	18	0
	seniors	***71***	***7***	***19***	***2***
UCLA	freshmen	72	7	17	2
	seniors	***63***	***7***	***25***	***5***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	79	4	15	0
	seniors	***78***	***9***	***13***	***0***
Dartmouth	freshmen	71	3	22	2
	seniors	***59***	***10***	***29***	***2***
U. Michigan	freshmen	74	7	17	0
	seniors	***62***	***7***	***27***	***4***
Stanford	freshmen	76	3	15	4
	seniors	***58***	***2***	***29***	***11***
Yale	freshmen	74	4	15	5
	seniors	***64***	***8***	***27***	***1***
Brown	freshmen	70	5	21	2
	seniors	***68***	***6***	***24***	***2***

35. Is the religious liberty clause in the First Amendment interpreted too strictly, to the disadvantage of religion?

		Yes	No	Unsure
Liberty	freshmen	64	14	20
	seniors	***63***	***13***	***24***
The Citadel	freshmen	20	39	39
	seniors	***31***	***36***	***33***
Marquette	freshmen	38	42	18
	seniors	***17***	***47***	***36***
UC-Irvine	freshmen	9	38	51
	seniors	***18***	***40***	***42***
Indiana	freshmen	22	57	19
	seniors	***17***	***38***	***44***
UCLA	freshmen	32	41	25
	seniors	***12***	***50***	***38***
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	21	41	36
	seniors	***15***	***32***	***53***
Dartmouth	freshmen	7	67	24
	seniors	***3***	***60***	***37***
U. Michigan	freshmen	13	44	41
	seniors	***10***	***40***	***50***
Stanford	freshmen	21	54	23
	seniors	***12***	***50***	***32***
Yale	freshmen	6	59	33
	seniors	***9***	***50***	***38***
Brown	freshmen	11	52	35
	seniors	***5***	***54***	***39***

36. How often do you attend religious services? A. Once a week or more often. B. Twice a month. C. Monthly. D. Several times a year. E. Twice a year or less. F. Not at all.

	A	B	C	D	E	F

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Liberty	freshmen	85	6	3	0	4	0
	seniors	*95*	*1*	*0*	*2*	*1*	*1*
The Citadel	freshmen	48	27	10	10	2	1
	seniors	*32*	*20*	*10*	*29*	*5*	*4*
Marquette	freshmen	31	20	5	28	6	8
	seniors	*28*	*24*	*8*	*18*	*17*	*5*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	43	23	11	4	12	5
	seniors	*29*	*6*	*4*	*22*	*16*	*22*
Indiana	freshmen	36	24	22	12	2	2
	seniors	*14*	*11*	*9*	*21*	*21*	*24*
UCLA	freshmen	41	13	22	15	5	2
	seniors	*16*	*8*	*1*	*24*	*18*	*33*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	21	19	11	14	12	21
	seniors	*14*	*9*	*7*	*24*	*30*	*16*
Dartmouth	freshmen	16	9	13	29	21	10
	seniors	*13*	*9*	*8*	*17*	*23*	*30*
U. Michigan	freshmen	18	12	7	27	19	14
	seniors	*7*	*7*	*6*	*28*	*25*	*27*
Stanford	freshmen	39	10	21	25	0	3
	seniors	*24*	*5*	*5*	*20*	*22*	*24*
Yale	freshmen	15	6	9	46	0	22
	seniors	*19*	*7*	*3*	*27*	*22*	*22*
Brown	freshmen	20	12	10	32	3	21
	seniors	*13*	*11*	*4*	*14*	*29*	*29*

37. How often, outside of religious services, do you pray to God? A. Daily. B. Several times a week. C. Only at specific crises in my life. D. Not at all.

		A	B	C	D
Liberty	freshmen	85	9	4	0
	seniors	*85*	*11*	*4*	*0*
The Citadel	freshmen	70	19	8	1
	seniors	*41*	*34*	*23*	*2*
Marquette	freshmen	30	36	23	9
	seniors	*35*	*32*	*24*	*9*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	38	28	30	2
	seniors	*27*	*24*	*31*	*18*
Indiana	freshmen	63	23	11	1
	seniors	*32*	*24*	*25*	*18*
UCLA	freshmen	55	28	10	5
	seniors	*27*	*15*	*26*	*32*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	31	34	21	12
	seniors	*28*	*25*	*29*	*18*
Dartmouth	freshmen	25	12	40	21
	seniors	*16*	*20*	*32*	*32*
U. Michigan	freshmen	24	25	32	17
	seniors	*17*	*20*	*32*	*31*
Stanford	freshmen	41	20	13	24
	seniors	*28*	*18*	*24*	*29*
Yale	freshmen	20	25	31	22
	seniors	*20*	*22*	*30*	*27*
Brown	freshmen	21	24	37	16
	seniors	*16*	*12*	*38*	*34*

38a. If you set aside religious precepts, would you engage in, or approve of, the following practices? (Please check all appropriate responses.) A. Birth control. B. Premarital sex. C. Extramarital sex. D. Divorce. E. Homosexuality. F. Abortion. G. Mercy killing. H. None of the above.

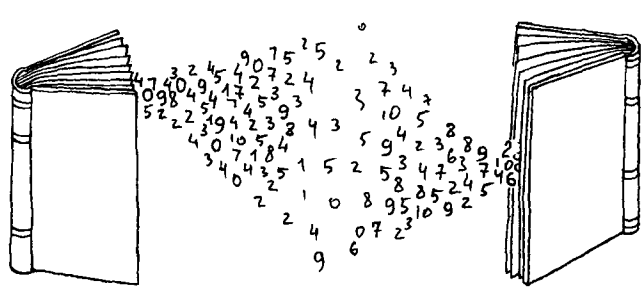
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Liberty	freshmen	85	28	4	23	4	4	4	14
	seniors	*62*	*21*	*1*	*18*	*5*	*7*	*17*	*35*
The Citadel	freshmen	90	66	3	82	0	4	3	9
	seniors	*86*	*64*	*6*	*38*	*4*	*32*	*35*	*9*
Marquette	freshmen	92	77	3	65	38	35	51	6
	seniors	*89*	*75*	*2*	*47*	*49*	*28*	*33*	*8*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	80	58	1	56	31	50	35	13
	seniors	*89*	*64*	*9*	*54*	*42*	*56*	*45*	*8*
Indiana	freshmen	92	86	2	90	54	71	50	7
	seniors	*97*	*85*	*10*	*62*	*44*	*52*	*49*	*2*
UCLA	freshmen	88	67	2	81	45	66	49	10
	seniors	*94*	*82*	*11*	*72*	*61*	*76*	*68*	*4*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	93	85	4	89	78	67	64	5
	seniors	*96*	*85*	*10*	*72*	*50*	*57*	*47*	*3*
Dartmouth	freshmen	89	83	1	88	76	73	63	5
	seniors	*98*	*92*	*5*	*84*	*77*	*75*	*71*	*1*
U. Michigan	freshmen	95	82	7	70	45	61	55	2
	seniors	*99*	*93*	*6*	*68*	*68*	*68*	*64*	*0*
Stanford	freshmen	91	79	1	82	78	65	63	7
	seniors	*96*	*81*	*8*	*65*	*67*	*67*	*65*	*4*
Yale	freshmen	90	84	3	87	84	71	68	3
	seniors	*98*	*89*	*11*	*82*	*67*	*73*	*60*	*1*
Brown	freshmen	94	86	5	89	80	79	62	0
	seniors	*100*	*92*	*8*	*77*	*84*	*82*	*69*	*0*

38b. Given religious precepts, would you engage in, or approve of, the following practices? (Please check all appropriate responses.) A. Birth control. B. Premarital sex. C. Extramarital sex. D. Divorce. E. Homosexuality. F. Abortion. G. Mercy killing. H. None of the above.

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Liberty	freshmen	71	0	0	9	0	0	0	28
	seniors	*58*	*3*	*0*	*5*	*1*	*2*	*5*	*39*
The Citadel	freshmen	81	35	0	45	0	1	1	18
	seniors	*74*	*42*	*2*	*26*	*2*	*23*	*29*	*20*
Marquette	freshmen	86	55	1	38	30	26	46	7
	seniors	*80*	*60*	*1*	*38*	*42*	*22*	*25*	*15*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	72	29	0	50	22	31	28	20
	seniors	*77*	*41*	*7*	*51*	*29*	*40*	*34*	*19*
Indiana	freshmen	85	73	0	52	31	26	1	13
	seniors	*88*	*67*	*9*	*55*	*40*	*41*	*41*	*7*
UCLA	freshmen	83	61	0	75	39	61	44	13
	seniors	*86*	*67*	*8*	*59*	*52*	*66*	*58*	*11*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	89	78	1	75	69	63	53	7
	seniors	*85*	*64*	*7*	*55*	*40*	*47*	*41*	*11*
Dartmouth	freshmen	83	74	0	71	69	58	40	13
	seniors	*97*	*89*	*3*	*75*	*72*	*67*	*69*	*2*
U. Michigan	freshmen	84	61	5	58	43	31	32	8
	seniors	*98*	*84*	*6*	*64*	*62*	*66*	*59*	*2*
Stanford	freshmen	90	77	0	80	75	63	5	8
	seniors	*91*	*70*	*6*	*53*	*58*	*59*	*56*	*8*
Yale	freshmen	85	78	0	80	75	58	42	6
	seniors	*92*	*75*	*9*	*74*	*59*	*67*	*50*	*6*
Brown	freshmen	90	79	1	80	71	65	54	8
	seniors	*95*	*80*	*5*	*72*	*78*	*76*	*64*	*4*

39. Below are our very brief, rough statements of various attitudes toward "the person of Christ." Please check the one that most nearly approximates your view. A. Christ is divine. B. Christ was a great prophet. C. Christ may never have lived at all. D. Another view.

		A	B	C	D
Liberty	freshmen	92	2	0	4
	seniors	*95*	*0*	*0*	*4*
The Citadel	freshmen	71	19	0	8
	seniors	*83*	*7*	*5*	*5*
Marquette	freshmen	61	11	3	23
	seniors	*76*	*9*	*2*	*13*
UC-Irvine	freshmen	48	12	7	31
	seniors	*52*	*14*	*10*	*24*
Indiana	freshmen	67	17	2	12
	seniors	*54*	*16*	*9*	*19*
UCLA	freshmen	27	39	5	27
	seniors	*45*	*8*	*5*	*42*
U. Wisconsin	freshmen	52	18	1	27
	seniors	*52*	*14*	*8*	*26*
Dartmouth	freshmen	41	22	8	27
	seniors	*37*	*17*	*7*	*39*
U. Michigan	freshmen	57	12	9	20
	seniors	*38*	*19*	*8*	*35*
Stanford	freshmen	47	25	4	22
	seniors	*44*	*18*	*8*	*30*
Yale	freshmen	37	23	9	29
	seniors	*34*	*16*	*13*	*36*
Brown	freshmen	29	28	15	26
	seniors	*29*	*18*	*11*	*42*



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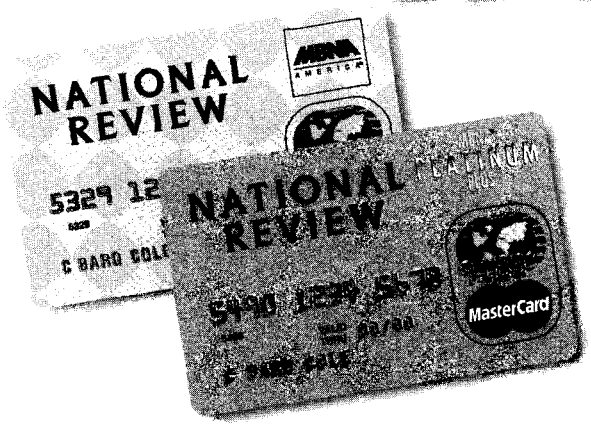

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Home phone (___) ___-____ Business phone (___) ___-____

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Employer _____ Position‡‡ _____ Years there ____

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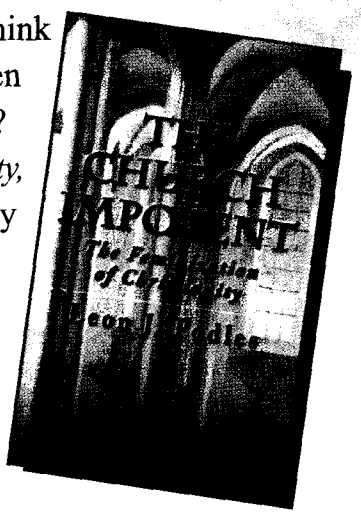
The book explores the medieval developments that caused misunderstandings of masculinity and femininity within the church and harmful effects to society as a result.



" 'Male and female he created them.' Leon Podles reminds us of the full meaning and mystery of these words, which have been forgotten in our time, when both sexes have been debased and turned against each other by ideologies of 'feminism,' 'liberation,' and 'sexual freedom.' *The Church Impotent* explains the divine harmony between true patriarchy and true femininity as created by our heavenly Father. We can only be grateful for Dr. Podles' lucid effort to repair our understanding of Christian truth."

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Nationally syndicated columnist

"By documenting and criticizing the long-term feminization of Western Christianity, Leon Podles has written a major book — one that has identified a fundamental challenge for the Church in this coming century, namely how to bring men back to the Faith. Church leaders ignore this challenge only at great risk."

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Media coverage of guns would be distorted even without bias or ignorance. School massacres are inherently more newsworthy than the over 2 million incidents each year in which people use guns defensively—including incidents where the gun is merely brandished and attacks on schools where the shooter is stopped before claiming victims. But the fact remains: Guns are used for defensive purposes about five times as often as they are used for crimes. Ignoring that fact can have unfortunate consequences for public safety. Victims behaving passively are much more likely to face serious injury than those who use a gun when they are confronted by a criminal.

My colleague William Landes and I have compiled data on all the multiple-victim public shootings that took place in the United States from 1977 to 1995. We included incidents where at least two people were killed or injured in a public place; and to focus on the type of shooting seen in the Colorado rampage, we excluded gang wars or shootings that were the byproduct of another crime, such as robbery. The U.S. averaged 21 such shootings annually, with an average of 1.8 people killed and 2.7 wounded in each one.

We examined a range of different policies, including sentencing laws and gun laws (such as waiting periods), to see what might stop or deter these killings. We found that higher arrest and conviction rates, longer prison sentences, and the death penalty reduce murders generally. But neither the gun laws nor the frequency or severity of punishment turned out to have any significant effect on public shootings.

We found only one policy that does have such an effect: letting adults without criminal records or a history of significant mental illness carry concealed handguns. The impact of these "right to carry" laws, now on the books in 31 states, has been dramatic. During the 19 years covered in our study, states that

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Neither the gun laws nor the frequency or severity of punishment had any significant effect.

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passed such laws saw the number of multiple-victim public shootings decline by an average of 84 percent. Deaths from these shootings plummeted on average by 90 percent, injuries by 82 percent. To the extent that attacks still occur in states that have enacted these laws, they disproportionately occur in those areas in which concealed handguns are forbidden.

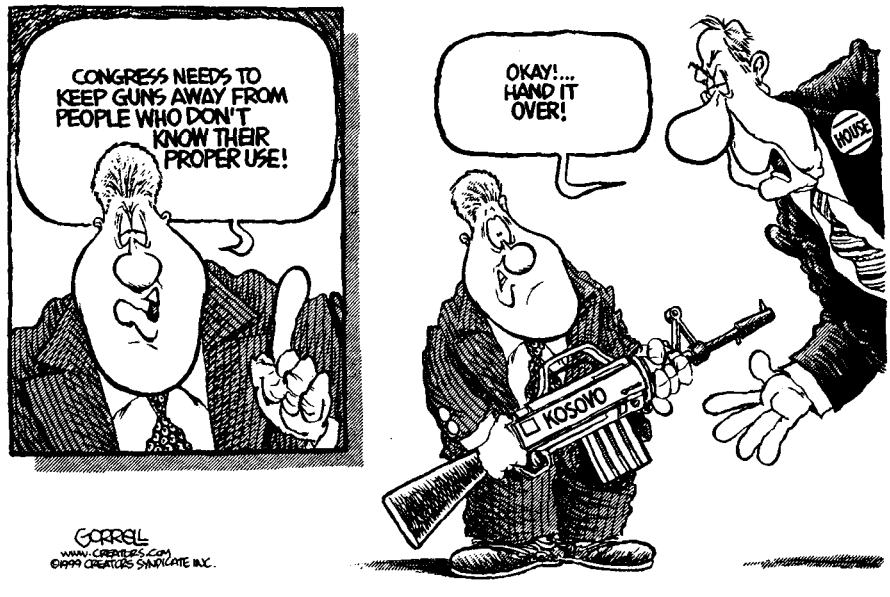
The likely explanation for these results lies in the peculiarly deranged nature of these crimes. The perpetrators usually die in the course of their rampages: Either they are killed in the attack or, as in the Colorado shooting, commit suicide. The normal penalties, then, simply do not apply. Whatever the other merits of proposed laws such as a lifetime ban on gun ownership for people who commit violent crimes as a juvenile, they won't deter this particular crime.

What motivates most of these criminals seems to be the desire for publicity. They want to kill as many people as possible. The possible presence of concealed weapons can limit the carnage, and thus the incentive to begin the attack. With concealed-handgun laws, it is not even necessary that many people actually carry a weapon. If only 5 percent of the general population has a permit, the probability that someone will be able to defend himself against attack in a crowded restaurant or on a train, or in some other place where a large number of adults are present, is essentially 100 percent.

Concealed-handgun laws also have an important advantage over uniformed police in that would-be attackers can in the latter case either aim their initial assault at the officer or wait until he departs the area. The Columbine High attack helps illustrate this point. Neil Gardner, the armed sheriff's deputy stationed at the school, was in uniform and well known to the students, thus placing him at a disadvantage. (His job was also made vastly more difficult by the threat of pipe bombs, which the killers essentially used as grenades.)

Right-to-carry laws are effective in stopping multiple shootings not only in this country. Well over 20 years ago in Israel, there were many instances of terrorists' pulling out machine guns and firing away at civilians in public. But with expanded concealed-handgun use by Israeli citizens, terrorists soon found ordinary people pulling pistols on them. Suffice it to say, terrorists in Israel tend no longer to engage in such public shootings.

There was, however, one recent shooting of schoolchildren in Israel. On March 13, 1997, a crazed Jordanian soldier shot seven Israeli girls to death while they visited Jordan's "Island of Peace." The *Los Angeles Times* reported that the Israelis had "complied with Jordanian requests to leave their weapons behind when they entered the border enclave. Otherwise, they might have been able to stop the shooting, several parents said." Indeed. **NR**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The more we escalate the drug war, the more young people and others die.

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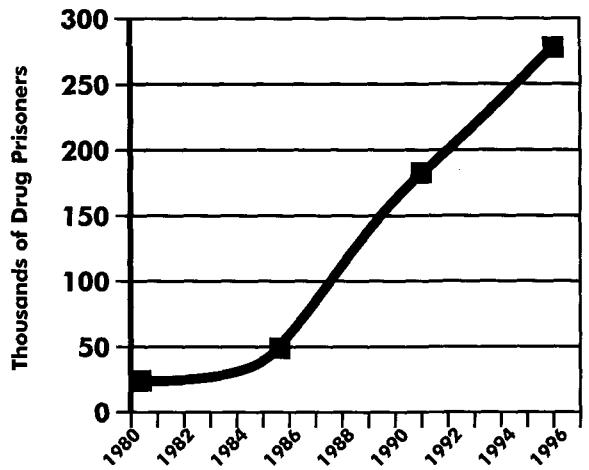
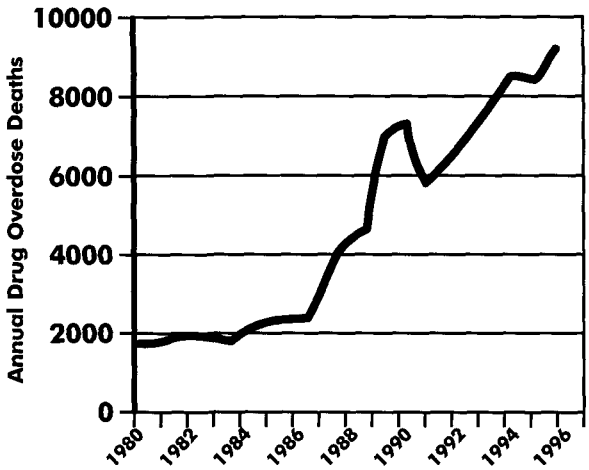


DRUG OVERDOSE DEATHS



Graph Sources: Bureau of Justice Statistics and U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

- **October 14, 1982: President Reagan calls for escalation of war on drugs**
- **Fall, 1984: Drug sentences increase, mandatory sentencing guidelines enacted, Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984.**
- **June 7, 1986: Presidential Directive labels drug trade "a national security concern". Authorizes expanded use of military.**

"These outcomes may be understood as public health consequences of policies that criminalize and marginalize drug users . . ."

- Dr. Ernest Drucker, Public Health Reports Jan./Feb. 1999 -

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See: Drucker, Ernest, "Drug Prohibition and Public Health," *Public Health Reports,* (U.S. Public Health Service) Vol. 114, pgs. 14-29 January/February 1999, http://www.of-course.com/drugrealities/

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■ CULTURE WATCH ■

Porn on Demand

The rise of shame-free smut.

ROB LONG

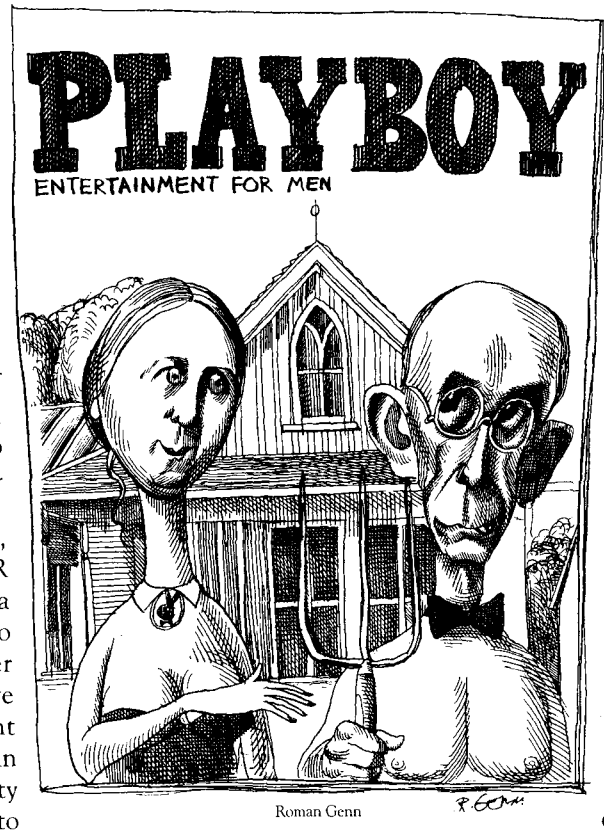
WHEN Bob Crane, the star of TV's *Hogan's Heroes*, was found murdered in an Arizona motel in the late 1970s, among his personal effects were several hundred pounds of video equipment. Crane had state-of-the-art stuff for the time: a huge video camera, a heavy playback tape machine (roughly the size of four microwave ovens stacked together), and enough lights to form a small production company.

Crane was a porn freak. And back then, being a porn freak wasn't for the casual hobbyist. The airline overweight-luggage charges alone were suitable barriers to entry, and the enormous cost of what was essentially professional television equipment managed to keep the riffraff out. Or in, depending.

All of that changed, of course, with the introduction of the VCR and a camcorder the size of a plump quail. Add to those two items a slim notebook computer for whip-fast editing, and you have a compact kit so small and light that it would barely show up in crime-scene photographs. Twenty years ago, poor Bob Crane had to schlep back-breaking crates all over the country to satisfy his creepy hobby; now it all fits conveniently into the overhead compartment or under the seat in front of you. Golfers have more luggage.

This wasn't a coincidence. New technology relies on "early adopters" to pay more for groundbreaking equipment. Audiophiles subsidized the introduction of the compact disc with their single-minded pursuit of perfect sound reproduction. Computer geeks brought us the Palm Pilot. And Bob Crane gave us the VCR. He lugged all that stuff just so that we could slip in *A Bug's Life* and keep the kids quiet for a couple of hours.

To keep ourselves honest, it's a good idea to remember the smutty origins of our current obsession with the Internet. The first companies to successfully charge for content, the first multi-page websites, the busiest chat rooms—all are directly involved in the pornography industry. Bear in mind, too, that the excessive stock-market valuations of e-commerce companies such as amazon.com and eToys are the direct result of the e-commerce pioneers, the pornographers. As with the explorer's path that became a wagon trail that became a rural road that became a superhighway (information or otherwise), the first people to make the journey did so to look at dirty pictures. And as of now, the Internet pornographers are unique among e-commerce companies in that they turn a profit.



Roman Genn

In the late 1970s, around the time Bob Crane got iced in a cheap motel room, I was a Boy Scout. Our troop raised money by collecting paper to recycle, and every so often we would go to the various dumpsters around town to sort and shuffle. It was a dirty, sticky, exhausting job, but there were always plenty of volunteers, because among the piles of newspaper, cardboard, and occasional garbage, invariably some—to us—insane person would have thrown out a *Playboy*, or if we were very lucky, a *Penthouse*.

Work would stop for several hours as we gathered 'round the magazine, campfire-style. It was a scene out of soft-core Normal Rockwell, and these days, I'm not sure the sight of a few teenage boys huddled around a computer screen carries the same benignly rakish vibe. Every kid has a computer.

And every computer has access to pornography. It is a world the distracted boys of Troop 202 could only dream about. The Internet is only a medium, of course—no better or worse than a magazine, say, or television. Like those, it has its pockets of quality. But we fool ourselves when we confer on it any community value, as Al Gore does when he proudly claims credit for "hooking our schools up to the Internet." Imagine making the same claim for television, or magazines.

Does anyone seriously think the problem with our schools today is that students have insufficient access to television? Or magazines? Or stores? Is it any wonder that Americans, never more than a mile from the nearest french fry, have become a nation of fatties? And if the effortless french fry feeds our snacky appetite, what about our prurient one? The pornography industry's relentless quest to eliminate the physical barriers to distribution—first, the inconvenience of the movie theater; then, the embarrassment of renting tapes; now, the herky-jerky video quality of the

Mr. Long is a Hollywood writer and contributing editor to NR.

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Internet—will eventually pay off. Every American house will have, if it wishes, hot-and-cold-running porn. And on every American desk in every American office, an Internet-connected employee will be able to view, with a finger tap and a mouse click, a kinky girl-girl act right there in a small screen next to last year's expense accounts for the sales staff.

We can't turn back the clock. And even if we could, who would want to give back the wonderful cocooning technology that the pornography industry has subsidized? I like my VCR,

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Who would want to give back the wonderful cocooning technology that the porn industry has subsidized?

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and I buy books from amazon.com. But without a sleazy movie theater you have to slip into, or a leering video-store clerk, or, to get really old-fashioned, the old lady who lived next to one of the newspaper dumpsters, who peered at us from her kitchen window in silent reproach, won't pornography become just another form of entertainment, available for the asking? And won't that lead—and I know I'm pushing it, but I'm only pushing it a little—to the same shrugging attitude towards violence, which in computer games and certain movies has a certain creepy porno-lust quality to it?

The only real curb to unfettered free expression is the look on the face of the person you're expressing yourself to. But on the Internet, there is no face looking back. You can say anything, ask for anything, watch anything.

When I was a boy and expressed a healthy interest in topless bars, my mother would fix me with a steely gaze and offer, if I wanted, to have my father take me to one of those places when I was a little older. "Look around," she would say, "look at the rest of the customers, and then ask yourself, 'Are these the kind of people I want to spend time with?'" A good question, I guess, but now there are no customers. There is only you and your mouse. **NR**

You deserve a factual look at...

"Sacrifices for Peace"

What else does the world expect Israel to do?

There is persistent pressure on Israel to bring "sacrifices for peace." It is understood that these "sacrifices" refer to greater "flexibility" in dealing with the Arabs, but mean primarily that Israel should allow its dismemberment, in order to bring peace to the region.

What are the facts?

A Bizarre Concept. The concept to bring "sacrifices for peace" is a new one that has never before found application in world history. It was created by Arab propaganda to induce Israel to agree to its dismemberment, to give strategic assets to those who are determined to destroy it.

Since its creation in 1948, Israel has been subjected to almost constant Arab terror, to unceasing Arab aggression, and to three major wars. In the Six-Day War, it recovered its heartland of Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") and the eastern part of Jerusalem; it captured the Golan Heights from Syria, which had been used for decades to shell and spread terror over much of northern Israel; and it conquered Gaza and the Sinai Desert that had been used by Egypt as staging ground and invasion route to Israel.

Here are three good sacrifices that the Arabs could bring for peace: (1) Abandon the insistence on recovering the Golan; (2) Stop the clamor about the division of Jerusalem; (3) Disarm the Palestinian "police".

Many Sacrifices for Peace. In order to achieve peace with its neighbors, Israel brought sacrifices for peace that have no precedent in the history of the world. For peace with Egypt, Israel returned the entire Sinai. There is little thanks on the part of Egypt for this generosity and this sacrifice for peace. The controlled Egyptian press spews daily anti-Israel venom. President Mubarak has never visited Jerusalem. It is the coolest possible peace. A sacrifice for peace brought in vain—probably a major act of folly on the part of Israel.

Israel made sacrifices for peace by signing a peace treaty with Jordan. In that peace, Israel granted Jordan a large yearly allowance of fresh water from its own dwindling and meager resources and accepted a petty demand for "border rectification"—yielding of land. As for Syria, no offered sacrifice for peace seems to be sufficient to satisfy its dictator, President Hafez Assad. He is unwilling to consider even an ice-cold peace, except for Israel's total surrender of the Golan Heights. Fortunately, under the current Israeli government such a surrender is not in the cards.

The greatest sacrifice for peace that Israel has brought was the resuscitation of the bankrupt and moribund PLO terror organization and the acceptance of it "chairman" Yasser Arafat as a negotiating partner. In this ill-advised process, foisted on Israel by world pressure and by its previous government, Israel has made far-reaching and existential sacrifices and concessions. It has yielded control of the Gaza Strip and of all major "West Bank" cities to the Palestinian Authority and has agreed to detailed plans to grant further autonomy to the Palestinians. In what is probably the ultimate folly in this process, Israel has tolerated the formation of a Palestinian "police force" (actually an army) of 40,000 men—the largest police-to-population ratio in the world (!)—and has equipped this "police force' with a complete arsenal of automatic weapons. As the world now knows, these weapons were turned on Israeli soldiers and civilians at the very first opportunity that the Palestinian leaders provoked.

The Arab countries, not Israel, are killing peace in the Middle East. The PLO, apart from the bloody crimes that it has committed against Israel, has now established a virtual dictatorship in the territory allotted to it. In Egypt, thousands of Copts have been killed and their churches burned. President Assad of Syria has occupied Lebanon and has killed and tortured thousands. Iraq, under its dictator Saddam Hussein, is a rogue state attacking its neighbors and killing its own citizens. Saudi Arabia is a monarchical tyranny. Sudan is engaged in the systematic slaughter and enslavement of its black African people. How strange that nobody asks the Palestinians or any of the Arab states to bring any sacrifices for peace. Here are three good sacrifices that the Arabs could bring for peace: (1) Abandon the insistence on recovering the Golan; (2) Stop the clamor about the division of Jerusalem; (3) Disarm the Palestinian "police." Billy clubs are good enough for London Bobbies. Why should any more be needed to patrol Nablus, Hebron and Bethlehem?

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■ COVER STORY ■

No Blood, No Guts

Clinton's generation goes to war.

PETER COLLIER

At Omaha Beach in 1994, during a lull in the ceremonies surrounding the 50th anniversary of D-Day, reporters watching Bill Clinton noticed a misty look come into his eyes. He then gave a heartfelt glance at the cruel sea where so many men in the invading army had died before reaching the shore, and knelt. He picked up some rocks and arranged them in the shape of a little cross, then bowed his head.

It was a bravura example of the gestural politics that this president has so completely mastered. But one wonders, what exactly was Clinton praying for (besides, one hopes, blessing on the dead)? We can be almost certain that he prayed that the cameramen trailing him were capturing the inspired visual soundbite he had just created. And we can infer, from statements he has made since then, that he might also have been praying for the drama of a high-stakes world crisis similar to the one of a half-century ago that would allow him, a president condemned to govern in a tranquil and prosperous time, to acquire a legacy larger than "It's the economy, stupid."

Clinton fitfully looked for that legacy in places like Somalia and Iraq. He did not look in China or North Korea, although he might have found it there. He finally settled on Kosovo, of all places. This is how it would work: He would assemble a grand alliance to fight an ethnic fascism grown delusive as a result of systematic appeasement and save an imperiled people. Justified by multilateralism and clear humanitarian purpose, the mission would be brief and exemplary, with a subtext of punishing a nasty tyrant, a virtual war conducted without great cost at 40,000 feet, weather permitting.

Kosovo now is a killing field saturated with the blood of hapless Albanians, a forbidding landscape rich only in ironies. Chief among them is that this legacy war is being waged by an elite that has always seen its generational mission as giving peace a chance. For America's European allies, this is a war of the Third Way, with the Laborites and Social Democrats and Greens who grew up demonstrating against Reagan's missiles in Europe now flying bombing missions over the continent to punish a former Communist apparatchik they wouldn't dream of offending if Communism were still a force. For Clinton himself, it is an antiwar movement's sort of war. Out of one side of his mouth he says that he fights in behalf of a "moral imperative"; out of the other side he says, "Hell no, we won't go!" All things at once and nothing for sure, he threatens, as always, to cancel himself—and us—out.

CLINTON'S WAR

His aides have bristled at the notion that Kosovo is "Clinton's war." Yet it is exactly that, manifesting the president's many anxieties as commander in chief. It is a war waged with squeamishness about U.S. military might and vigilance for any evidence of the arrogance of American power. In rhetoric it is a war about a climactic struggle between good and evil; in implementation it is a "conflict" that requires resolution, not victory, and whose high point is the release of three soldiers abducted while not fighting.

In joining the need to punish a bloody tyrant to the need to feel good about himself, Clinton, as always, represents the sensibility of his political generation. One thinks of the pivotal moment in *Primary Colors*, the story of his alter ego Jack Stanton, when an old friend and political operative explains to a young campaign worker that, while Jack and his wife might seem a little compromised now, it must always be borne in mind that, back when they were working with McGovern to rescue the world, they were "just golden."

In this claim of exceptionalism lies a generation's foundation myth and an insight into Clintonism. This goldenness is comprised of an idealism and moral passion that were not present in American life before the personal became political.

Mr. Collier is co-author of *Destructive Generation: Second Thoughts About the Sixties.*

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It has remained pure and untarnished ever since in spite of all the tawdry pragmatism and embarrassing narcissisms.

It is Clinton's good fortune that there has always been someone to flatter this conceit and urge it on. During the impeachment hearings, it was the feminist enablers who reassured him that he was morally superior to the perverted voyeurs who accused him. And during Kosovo it was no less than Elie Wiesel—a one-man ethical certification process—who appeared at a White House soirée to affirm Clinton as not only equal to the leaders of World War II in his great crusade, but actually superior to them. When FDR had the chance to save hundreds of Jews on the doomed ship *St. Louis*, Wiesel said, he failed to act. But now there is Kosovo, and "this time we do respond." This episode of moral flatulence occurred on the same day Clinton was found guilty of lying under oath by a federal judge.

Decentered and distorted, history has been the squid's ink Clinton has used to cover himself in Kosovo. We go there to avoid another Munich, he and his people told us in the early days of the air war. But does the fact that we have already negotiated with our enemy not make us Chamberlain before the fact? Milosevic is another Hitler, they said. Yet if this is so, shouldn't we do everything humanly possible to trap him in his bunker and pour poison down the air holes, or at least stop calling him Mister? If we are in Kosovo to forestall another Holocaust, why haven't we gone at the Serbian S.S. with everything in our arsenal to keep them from stacking up the bodies?

Saying that Kosovo is the second coming of World War II is not only generational penis envy but passive aggression on the part of those who grew up regarding their elders not as the heroes of D-Day but as the old men who sent young men off to die in Vietnam. At best, the comparison strips a specific history of its tragic grandeur and forces it to reappear as farce. At worst, it obscures the real issue, the real evil, the real catastrophe in the Balkans, which, by being inflated, is diminished.

The illiteracy in Clinton's slip that World War II began in the Balkans reminds us that for many in his golden generation history has become nothing more than storytelling. It is a proposition Chinese premier Zhu Rongji no doubt subscribes to as well. In the early days of the war, when the two men held a joking news conference in Washington, a question came up about Taiwan. Without missing a beat, Zhu compared himself to Abraham Lincoln, who was compelled, as he himself might someday be, to take the hard choice to unify a country by force. Instead of opposing this slander against our history, the smiling president quipped that he, Clinton, had just gotten "zapped by Abraham Lincoln."

The sleeping story of Chinese espionage, one of the tails helping to wag the dog in Kosovo, also came up during this meeting and was also dismissed with the president's lighthearted response that China was, after all, a big place where you can't keep track of everything. Blithe about the theft of our weapons, which may be used against us one day in some dark alley at the end of history, the administration was not only in denial that the espionage had taken place but that it mattered. Its casual response to this crisis suggests that the Clintonites regard spies and treason as phantasms, left over from a prior era that cruelly punished screenwriters and Alger Hiss, unleashed Joseph McCarthy, and allowed the paranoia and nativism dwelling deep in the American soul to seep to the surface of our national life.

MORAL AMBIGUITY IN PRACTICE

The ultimate irony of Kosovo is that Clinton went there expecting the clarity of World War II, but found instead the murkiness of Vietnam. It was not only in the piecemeal,

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handcuffed way the war unfolded, or in the fact that the planning seemed to bear the stamp more of a seminar at the Renaissance Weekend than the hard calculus of a Pentagon war room. Vietnam was there in the way civilians kept getting in the way; in the way the best and brightest intentions kept producing the most morally ambiguous results.

The fear that he would find a tunnel at the end of his light is what made the president stand by admiringly as Jesse Jackson traveled to Belgrade to hold hands and pray with the Serbian Hitler and then to issue propaganda statements against his country's efforts, in the manner of Hanoi Jane. Jackson carried the same message to Milosevic that figures like Tom Hayden and Staughton Lynd carried in the good old days when they visited the Hanoi Jeffersonians they believed were building a "rice-roots democracy": Hold on because our leadership doesn't have the stomach to finish what it has gotten into. Divided against himself in this war, Clinton could hardly disagree. Moreover, he too had held hands and prayed with the Reverend Jackson in his own time of sinful need.

The solution in Kosovo will be defined by how out of synch it is with the glorious hugger-mugger that produced it. Every day the outlines of the settlement become clearer, almost as if it has been there from the beginning and could have been stipulated to without the show war. Those Kosovars still left will return to the deathscape we helped create and will now help to rebuild, but they will find no real safety in an endless and edgy truce supervised by indifferent peacekeepers and in constant danger of being undermined. Initially dealt out of the game, the Russians will be rewarded for their malice by an increase in their allowance that will immediately flow, as with past billions, to the Slav mafias and Swiss bankers. The war criminal will remain in his Belgrade lair. And in Washington, our military chiefs will retreat to the drawing board, dazed and confused by a new set of constraints and prohibitions—call them the Lessons of Kosovo—that will restrict their options and daunt future leaders as they try to perform the difficult task of defending this country. **NR**

Strange Nestfellows

The cast of hawks on Kosovo.

ELLIOTT ABRAMS

NOTHING has been more disturbing to conservative Kosovo hawks than the identity of their allies. To be supporting a foreign policy backed by Christopher Dodd; to be seated in a cheering section next to David Bonior; to find oneself applauded by Ted Kennedy—it is truly enough to cause us to rethink.

Mr. Abrams, an assistant secretary of state under President Reagan, is president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center.

And the only solution is clarity. For in truth, these liberal Democrats are not supporting the war for the reasons that conservatives are supporting it. As confusion will breed trouble tomorrow, we had better avoid it today.

Liberal hawks support the war because they think it unrelated to our national interests. In their eyes, if the war enhanced U.S. security, its purpose would be less high and its character less admirable. For them, Kosovo is another Somalia, another Haiti, another chance to do what we failed to do in Rwanda: foreign policy as social work. There is not much reasoning at work here. Paul Wellstone talks of "a knot in my stomach," and Bonior says that the refugee situation "grabs me in a very visceral way." They can be awfully bloody-minded when they are certain of the justice of their cause, but this should come as no surprise: An inflamed liberal conscience is a weapon of mass destruction.

A CALCULATION

For those on the right who support the war in Kosovo, the calculation is different. To begin with, *it is* a calculation, not an emotion. The American intervention in Kosovo is a real risk, in no small part because the Clinton administration's unreliability and incompetence are inescapable. When the war accelerates, we will still be led by Bill and Al and Sandy and Madeleine (not to mention Strobe). Whatever we end up doing in Kosovo, they will control, with all the attendant risks.

As conservative hawks calculate, they judge that this use of American strength will not, in fact, leave us weaker elsewhere; that a defeat would irreparably weaken NATO and seriously harm American credibility; that the damage would outlast the Clinton administration; that there are realistic solutions in the Balkans that can be imposed; that fears of creating a dangerous nationalist reaction in Russia are overblown. We believe these things, but these, again, are judgments rather than moral certainties. They are calculations.

This is not to say that there is no deeper principle, no broader strategy motivating most conservative hawks. There is a group—call them the Kissingerians—that wishes we had never gotten immersed in this but holds that, now that we're in, we must win. Kissinger himself is consistent and logical: Just as he opposed cutting and running in Vietnam, he does so in Kosovo.

Then there are the ideologues of American greatness. Their primary motivation is a theory about America and the American role in world politics. "France cannot be France without greatness," General de Gaulle once wrote; the American Gaullists think he had merely the country wrong. To them, it is right and proper for America to be what the British used to call "top nation," and to act like it. An international system dominated by American power and idealism will be more democratic and more humane, they believe; and the alternative would be a Hobbesian world political system and an America untrue to its principles.

For the moment, the Kissingerians and the Gaullists are in an uneasy coalition and made even more nervous because the outcome of the war is in the Clinton team's hands. But their alliance is nothing new: It was forged during the Cold War. What *is* new and unsettling is that both these groups find

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themselves before the cameras agreeing with people who—almost yesterday—couldn't quite make out which side was right in the Cold War. Strobe Talbott opposed every one of the Reagan initiatives that won the Cold War, believed we were headed for a nuclear holocaust, and was (and remains) contemptuous of those who backed the Reagan strategy. But today he is a hawk. Bonior thought the Grenada rescue mission was unforgivable aggression. But now he wants ground troops. Sandy Berger is a Peace Now-nik when it comes to Israeli concessions, but won't give an inch in Kosovo. And so on.

With friends like these, conservative hawks need precision. The "national interest" part is easy: While such a consideration is backward and dirty to the progressive folk now in charge of our foreign policy, it is central to the conservatives. Things get stickier, though, when we have to define the national interest. The difficult question is whether American leadership is per se a national interest—especially leadership on "humanitarian" issues like stopping mass murder. Is it in America's national interest to prevent the brutalization of Kosovo today and another Rwanda tomorrow, even if it means using force? Always? If not always, when?

If the hawks have been less than precise here, they may be forgiven, for these are the toughest new questions facing American foreign policy. Again: When is an intervention "humanitarian," and when does a case of barbarism carry sufficient freight to become a matter of narrow national-interest calculations? When does action—or inaction—in a barbarous situation so affect the reputation of the United States that our national interest rather than our conscience is at stake?

It is critical for conservative hawks to discuss national interest and explain that humanitarian matters can sometimes but not always affect our national interest, because it is important to assert that we *have* national interests. Restraining China is in our national interest, as is defending Taiwan. Fighting the spread of weapons of mass destruction is in our national interest. Building a stronger military is a core national interest. It is easy to explain to liberals that we may sometimes have a national interest in alleviating suffering. It is less easy to explain to them that we may sometimes have a national interest in taking actions devoid of humanitarian appeal. In fact, the conservatives' task is still what it was during the Cold War: to persuade as many liberals, and other Americans, as will listen that the United States is of necessity the leader of the democracies; that the cause of liberty depends on our success; that our influence in the world is the greatest force for good in world politics. This was true during the 20th century and will be true during the next century as well.

Most Americans sense that this is so and worry only about

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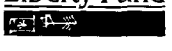

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the overextension of our capabilities. They are right to worry, and to make case-by-case judgments. Liberals have squared their suspicion of American power with their desire to do good by supporting only those actions that seem to them pure and noble. Conservatives need to show the country at large that the liberal approach—the Clinton approach—is foolish and feckless. Our nation needs its honor and good reputation, and its association with liberty and decency; but it needs as well the kind of cold power calculation that liberals find upsetting.

That's what separates Reagan from Clinton, or Shultz from Albright, or Cheney from Cohen, or McCain from Dodd.

Here, by the way, is another national interest: explaining and reclaiming the conservative legacy in our foreign policy. **NR**

Toward Dresden

When bombing goes too far.

ANDREW J. BACEVICH

THE air war against Yugoslavia promises to stretch well into summer. Bill Clinton, sounding ever more like the beleaguered Lyndon Johnson, has declared that "our plan is to persist until we prevail."

Given a sound strategy, a commander in chief endowed with determination can serve the nation well—think of Abraham Lincoln persevering through the bloody spring and summer of 1864. More commonly, persistence masks conceptual bankruptcy. In this instance, Clinton's plaintive call for patience is a hastily contrived fig leaf, concealing his abandonment of one defective strategy for another, one that is both militarily suspect and morally problematic.

Once it became apparent that the jangling of NATO's saber hadn't scared the Serbs, an embarrassed alliance—including a conspicuously discomfited White House—grabbed for another approach: perhaps bludgeoning them might work.

Thus the strategy of attrition in which the president now vows to persist. One direct result has been a dramatic and continuing buildup of military assets committed against Yugoslavia, with the United States providing the lion's share of reinforcements. The *Theodore Roosevelt* has arrived to bolster NATO's air armada. Attack helicopters and rocket batteries of the U.S. Army have been deployed to Albania, promising more firepower still to hammer the Serbs. With 900 aircraft already engaged in the allied offensive, NATO commander Wesley Clark insists that his air campaign requires "vastly increased assets" and has asked for still more aircraft. Secretary of defense William Cohen promises that Clark will get whatever he needs.

Lifting a page out of Robert McNamara's playbook, military planners at NATO headquarters and in the Pentagon have incrementally expanded the list of targets that allied warplanes and missiles are authorized to attack: It begins with air defenses, military installations, and airfields; moves on to command-and-control facilities, government buildings, and storage depots; and now includes bridges, industrial enterprises, oil refineries, and Serbia's electrical grid. Almost imperceptibly, NATO's definition of what constitutes a legitimate "military" target has become more elastic. In Serbia, allied warplanes have demolished a food-processing plant, battered the factory that manufactures the Yugo automobile, and knocked Serbian radio and television stations off the air. Montenegro, Yugoslavia's pro-Western "other" republic, which has played no role in the Kosovo war, has likewise been the target of allied attack.

Inevitably, easing the restrictions on bombing has begun to dull allied sensitivity to collateral damage and civilian casualties. Americans are warming to the idea that their quarrel is not simply with Yugoslavia's government and military forces but with the Serbian people themselves. An article in that bellwether of elite opinion, *The New Republic*, has branded Serbs "Milosevic's willing executioners," lumping them with Germans complicit in the Holocaust. The "relative absence of effective Serbian protest," writes Stacy Sullivan, raises "disturbing questions about the culpability of Serbs as a whole."

As the allies deplete their stocks of precision munitions, they resort to less accurate methods and munitions. For example, the U.S. is now delivering loads of "dumb bombs" from B-52s. As this effort intensifies, the number of bombs going astray increases, devastating houses and apartment buildings, not to mention buses, passenger trains, and refugee convoys unfortunate enough to appear at the wrong place at the wrong time. As the war entered its third week, NATO was already shrugging off reports that allied attacks had reduced a good part of Pristina, the Kosovan capital, to rubble.

The bombing of Pristina, like the bombing of Belgrade and other Serbian cities, has done nothing to relieve the plight of

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the refugees displaced by Milosevic. Nor has it disrupted even momentarily efforts by Serbian forces to purge Kosovo of its ethnic-Albanian population. Through seven weeks, the bombing has been demonstrably ineffective—persuading the Clinton White House of the imperative to bomb some more. Thus are the operational implications of "persistence" beginning to make themselves clear: not to protect the Kosovars from further abuse, but to pound Serbia into submission

Almost imperceptibly, NATO's definition of what constitutes a legitimate 'military' target has become more elastic.

through a campaign of unremitting and increasingly indiscriminate violence.

According to some critics, NATO's determination to rely exclusively on air power dooms this campaign to failure. But the notion that "strategic bombing" alone cannot achieve decisive results has as much standing as Thomas Friedman's now-infamous claim that nations harboring McDonald's will never go to war with one another.

Employed with sufficient ruthlessness, air power just might make the Serbs crack, thereby permitting the White House and the Pentagon to persist in the pretense that Operation Allied Force has unfolded according to plan. Yet whatever the professed intentions of its architects, such a campaign will inevitably target the people of Serbia no less—perhaps eventually more—than their army and government. Of *course* allied air power can "prevail" in Yugoslavia: All that's required is to turn Serbia into a smoking ruin.

Thus does the show of resolve currently on display in Washington and Brussels gradually eclipse ethical considerations. In pursuit of a just cause there may be justification for putting noncombatants in jeopardy. But when military "strategy" derives from political timidity and bureaucratic dissembling rather than a determination to end a war expeditiously, that justification disappears. Killing and maiming Serbian civilians because pusillanimous leaders cannot summon the courage to order the ground offensive necessary to win the war is simply wrong.

We should not deceive ourselves: The longer NATO adheres to its strategy of attrition through sustained air attack, the greater the risk that the alliance's military actions will undermine the morality of a war launched in a haze of pious rhetoric, of the "never again" variety.

In so following Bill Clinton to victory in Yugoslavia, we will have sold our souls. As the culmination of the decade of moral confusion that is the age of Clinton, such an outcome might seem appropriate. But it will only compound the Balkan tragedy, in which the United States with each passing day becomes more complicit. **NR**

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Slobo meets the Rev. J.

MARK STEYN

A FEW years ago in London, when Fergie had taken to emulating her sister-in-law and dropping in on emergency wards, hospices, and general scenes of human tragedy, I suggested that the British might like to start carrying an equivalent of the organ-donor card: "In the event that I am seriously injured in a car accident, terrorist bombing, etc., I do not wish to be visited by the Duchess of York." It may be time for a U.S. variation, perhaps printed on the back of a GI dog tag: "In the event that I am taken prisoner and used as a human shield by a ruthless tyrant, I do not wish to be rescued by the Rev. Jesse Jackson."

Let us stipulate that America's three POWs would have preferred to be somewhere other than Serbia. Let us stipulate, too, that the Pentagon was correct when it revealed that their doctors had determined the men had been "beaten," even though the victims themselves speak only of their excellent treatment. But anyone who remembers those downed RAF pilots forced by Saddam into going on Iraqi TV and denouncing Western imperialist aggression will be grateful that at least Slobo didn't degrade his captives by using them as propaganda tools and making them say things they would obviously have preferred not to say, just for the benefit of the cameras. Instead, he left that to Jesse. As they crossed the border into Croatia, the POWs were cajoled by the Rev. Jackson into linking hands and joining him in shouting, "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, I'm free at last!" Never mind that previous generations of fighting men would have considered the entire scene . . . *unsoldierly*. Left to their own devices, the POWs might have broken into Celine's big theme from *Titanic*, or the Hokey-Pokey, or selections from *Brigadoon*. But the unlikely cover version of Martin Luther King's famous speech couldn't have made it clearer: Jesse's the star and the boys merely the supporting chorus—anonymous Blowfish to his Hootie.

Isn't it a little, well, trivializing to appropriate the words Dr. King used to shake off the shackles of an entire race for the release of three men who, by their own account, were being treated very well and in reasonable compliance with the Geneva Convention? No matter. Somehow, whatever the nominal subject, by the time Jesse Jackson's through with it, it's been re-ordered to fit his priorities. On ABC, he revealed that early in their talks Slobo had proposed freeing the oldest soldier on the grounds that he had a wife and child. The Reverend pointed out that this was not a good idea: The man in question, Staff Sgt. Christopher Stone, was white while the other two were Hispanic, and releasing only the white guy would "send a very ugly signal." Slobo mulled this over and saw reason: He's slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Bosnian Muslims, Croats, and Albanians, but he wouldn't want folks to start thinking he's as racist as some of those junior execs at Texaco. Start releasing the white ones before the brown ones and next thing you know you'll be looking at a class-action lawsuit and paying Jesse a couple hundred million to make it go away.

If only for that reason, we should take a relaxed view of the preacherman's overseas forays: The more time he spends hanging out with foreign thugs, the less time America's number-one shakedown artist has to make trouble for hapless domestic corporations. Indeed, one's principal regret is that the Rev. Jackson seems reluctant to pursue abroad the strategies he favors at home, since if there's anyone who could use a really good mandatory sensitivity-training and diversity program it's Slobodan Milosevic. Instead, the man who puts the PR in prayer just does his usual Lite Rap of moral equivalency: "Big problems need big leaders . . . Talk it out, don't fight it out . . . They demonize Clinton, we demonize Milosevic . . . We're bombing their bridges, but there's no diplomatic bridge . . . We're firing missiles when we should be firing Texaco management . . ." (Okay, I made up that last one.)

Still, Republicans are lapping it up. Increasingly, this war is like a bad repertory production where the cast have all been given the wrong roles. On 97.1 KXPT-FM, Nevada representative Shelley Berkley compared the Jackson trip to Belgrade to Jane Fonda's to Hanoi. As Ms. Berkley is a Democrat, one assumed initially that this was high praise. But not so. She was outraged at Jackson for "negotiating with the enemy." Her fellow Democrat, Illinois representative Jesse Jackson Jr., declined to take this comparison lying down. "Drawing a parallel between Jackson and Fonda," he said, is "reckless, offensive, and ill informed." He's right: There's a world of difference between misplaced idealism and misplaced narcissistic opportunism. And, if one must choose, Miss Fonda's unforgiving post-Vietnam assault on returning POWs as "military careerists and professional killers" seems a healthier characterization than the Reverend's sentimental reduction of them to helpless innocents caught up in an ancient conflict they can't possibly comprehend.

Alone among Republicans, John McCain tore into Jesse. "You don't hold hands with a butcher," he said, which sounds like something from a turn-of-the-century Miss Manners. But Jesse shot back: "You pray with sinners and victims, not just friends. If Senator McCain was in jail, I'd go get him." In fact, when Sen. McCain was in jail, in the Vietnam War, his father, the U.S. admiral in charge of the Pacific fleet, instead intensified the bombing of the city in which his son was held hostage.

THE DUMBING DOWN OF VALOR

We are supposedly waging war on Yugoslavia, and serious countries do not fetishize three—count 'em, three—soldiers who happen to have been taken prisoner. If we weren't prepared to do an Adm. McCain and step up the bombing, we should at least have left the men in prison, if only to demonstrate our seriousness of purpose. Instead, we fretted over whether the boys might have been roughed up. It's true that

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when America finally got a glimpse of its returning heroes they appeared to have pronounced limps. But this had less to do with Serb brutality than with the fact that the POWs were weighed down with six medals apiece.

Six medals each! For what? Presumably there was the Congressional Medal for Conspicuous Humiliation, for being forced by the Rev. Jackson into joining him on his sing-along. But what were the other 15 for? For being unfortunate enough to be taken prisoner while riding in an inadequately armed vehicle whose nearest support failed to grasp the urgency of the situation? The boys' medals bonanza was ludicrous. After six weeks, the dead are everywhere—in Kosovo villages, Serb TV stations—except on the NATO side: Our top guns sit around playing poker on mildly cloudy nights; the Apache helicopters are rusting in the mud of Tirana; and there's no one to give medals to except the only three Americans who've come within 15,000 feet of the enemy. In a cowardly little one-sided war, the glorification of these men was especially unseemly.

Afterwards, the Rev. Jackson flew home to appear in a sketch on *The Late Show* about trying to get David Letterman released . . . from his CBS contract! Don't worry, he's not serious. But then, in Bill Clinton's America, who is? Congress has abandoned the president, the public is indifferent, the armed forces are risk-averse, and our commander in chief's spiritual advisor is concerned that our enemy shouldn't damage his image by appearing anti-Hispanic. Least serious of all was Sandy Berger, warning Jesse that he couldn't guarantee his safety. A reasonable point, you'd think. But, as it turned out, the star envoy had little to worry about. We can hit Serb commuter trains, Albanian refugee convoys, and the Chinese embassy, but even in the most ineptly conducted American war of the century our "smart bombs" aren't dumb enough to fall on Jesse Jackson. **NR**

The End Of Courage

The strange death of an old virtue.

ROGER SCRUTON

ONE of the lessons to be drawn from the conflict in Kosovo is that, while our governments are ready to use military force, they are reluctant to take the risk of fighting. The strategy adopted is essentially one of window dressing. "Look how strong we are!" NATO declares; "we can destroy factories, bridges—whole towns, if we desire!" The Serbs know that the cost of rebuilding those factories, bridges, and towns will be borne, in the end, by the states that are currently destroying them. What matters, to them, is the war on the ground, in which men face each other and fight—as the Kosovo Liberation Army would fight, if we had the sense to arm it. Killing, intimidating, and driving into exile are the real business of war: and on this level, everything has proceeded, from the Serb point of view, as smoothly as could ever be expected.

What explains the reluctance of NATO to fight? Some speak of the enormous monetary cost of mobilizing troops on the ground. But it is a cost that Europe and America, controllers of the world's wealth, could easily meet. Besides, it would be far less than the cost of repairing the damage caused by continual bombing and of housing the Kosovan refugees. Others refer to the inevitable casualties, and the reluctance of Western democracies to accept them. But this is a doubtful argument. In Britain, at least, public opinion is behind the use of force, and eager for a speedy and definitive end to the conflict. Our airmen are already expressing their frustration at rules of engagement that prevent them from making use of their low-flying skills, and from taking the risk of direct air-to-ground combat.

The history of modern warfare tells us that, in the end, the swiftest resolution to a conflict, and the one most economical in both military and civilian casualties, is the decisive victory on the ground—the breakthrough that leads to the capture of disputed territory. That victory could be achieved tomorrow, to the immense relief not only of the Kosovan Albanians but of the nations that have been half-reluctantly persuaded to defend them. In some peculiar, metaphysical way, however, the hands of our governments are tied. It is as though all options were open, provided nothing were at risk besides machines. The crucial factor on which victory has always depended—the willingness to risk life and limb—has been removed from the equation.

In effect, the war in Serbia is an exercise in sanitized aggression—force without the risk of force, violence without tears, destruction from a place of safety. Not only is this cowardly: It is profoundly counter-productive, as we are beginning to see. Courage is a higher value than safety, and a life without risk diminishes the gift of freedom. And part of the value of courage over hesitation lies in the fact that it moves more decisively, more economically, and with less catastrophic destruction, to its goal. Courage is not just intrinsically admirable; it is also the most efficient means to achieve what we want.

If we wish to understand the mentality of our leaders, we must remind ourselves of the liberal priorities in politics. The Founding Fathers believed that the purpose of politics is to safeguard the space in which individuals can grow. The Constitution was devised to promote freedom and enterprise, and to encourage individuals to take full responsibility for their lives. The liberal heirs of the Founding Fathers believe that the purpose of politics is to look after all citizens from cradle to grave, regardless of what they have done to deserve it. For them, politics is a rescue service, offered unconditionally to all. Hence safety, health, and comfort become the primary political values. The aim is to create a risk-free society. If we contemplate war, it is only war at a distance, a series of "warning shots" that will deter the villains from their purpose without exposing our citizens to risk. Such a war, however, is both costly and essentially unwinnable.

Mr. Scruton is a writer and philosopher in England and the author of *An Intelligent Person's Guide to Philosophy*.

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It is not only in war that the liberal priorities are dangerous. The obsession with health is profoundly unhealthy, and the pursuit of safety unsafe. If we believe that the state is there to cushion us from misfortune, to compensate every loss and make up for every suffering, then we automatically relinquish control over our lives, while drastically narrowing the sphere of human action. Regulations of a mind-numbing complexity now govern activities, consumer products, and employment, with the aim of ensuring that the citizen can amble through a risk-free world, picking his pleasures from shelves loaded with packaged and sanitized products, waddling onwards in a state of moral obesity. As a result, the citizen lives longer than he might. But his life is less completely his own. We have suffered an enormous diminution in the value of human existence, because we have removed risk from the heart of it. It is only by staking your life, that you fully possess it.

AN EXAMPLE OF CONFIDENCE

It is worth harking back to the great days of the Empire, when the British exuded such confidence in their laws and customs. A robust sense of adventure, and a delight in the world, radiates from all that the British then did. Of course they were arrogant. But whatever contempt they showed toward other peoples was tempered by a sense of justice and fair play. They acknowledged our universal equality in the eyes of God, and regarded their own nationality as a stroke of good fortune that brought with it a corresponding duty to govern wisely and well. We laugh at this now; but not without a sense of regret, and with an inner recognition that theirs was a healthier and a happier world than ours.

The British rejoiced in an unparalleled sense of safety—they were at home in the world, and entitled to enjoy it. This self-confidence can be witnessed in all the great buildings—government offices, cathedrals, parish churches, colonial mansions—that they spread over the surface of the globe; it can be read in their colonial literature, and heard in their repertoire of rousing hymns. Yet, paradoxically, their sense of safety existed only because they courted danger. They took risks, and were fortified by overcoming them; they ventured into disease-ridden and fear-haunted places, to emerge after their ordeal with shy self-satisfaction, quietly resuming their place beside the hearth. Home was safe, because they fought for it and died for it. General Gordon of Khartoum was portrayed, in the picture that took pride of place in so many schoolrooms, as facing the spears of savages with a calm acceptance of his fate, as safe and unflustered in death as he would have been on the thickly carpeted stairway of his London club.

Of course, this attitude was fortified by myth, and depended upon constant rehearsal. The entire education of the English was devoted to instilling the attitudes that suited them for those adventures overseas—adventures both profitable and mad. But the resulting state of mind was not a myth—on the contrary, it was a real achievement, and one that, in our century, the Americans too have emulated. By courting danger, you make yourself safe—not safe in fact (14 million British bodies lie buried far from home)—but safe in your heart. Since death is inevitable, there is no other form of safety that really matters to us. The citizen of the liberal state, surrounded on all sides by his protectors and encouraged to avoid every risk that might shorten his life, does not achieve the sense of safety that the British then achieved. On the contrary: The more shielded he is from risk, the more terrible does his death appear to him. Anxieties about health fill his waking moments, and his long last years—when work is over and there is no life of adventure to look back upon—are ones of disappointment, fear, and boredom.

Once health and safety are guaranteed by the state, we begin to see them not as gifts of fortune but as rights. No one has a right to take them from us, and should they be taken in any case we think of ourselves as wronged. This attitude is now so widespread in America as to form the primary subject-matter of litigation. If you fall down and hurt yourself, your first instinct is to look round for someone to sue. If you smoke yourself to death, your survivors claim millions of dollars from the tobacco companies. If you die on the operating table, the doctor who tried to save you foots the bill. In a world where health is a right, death becomes a wrong.

To say that this attitude is unhealthy is to identify only the smallest part of what is bad about it. Death is not just inevitable: It is the root of our condition. A life in which death is put out of mind, but confronted when necessary with courage and honor, is the only life that accords with human dignity. "A free man," wrote Spinoza, "thinks of nothing less than of death." He meant not that we should look on death with lordly indifference, but that we should not look on it at all—and above all that we should not devote our waking thoughts to the absurd endeavor of postponing it. To live properly is to accept that we shall die. For without this fact nothing would have meaning for us—death and suffering are the occasions of human virtue. Compassion, courage, sacrifice, all are predicated on our mortality. By cultivating these virtues we overcome the fear of death; we also prepare ourselves for emergencies. We throw off our moral obesity, and become useful both to others and to ourselves.

Which brings me back to the war in Kosovo. In any real emergency, it is the courageous person who sees us through, just as it is the risk-taker who makes an economy work. In a limited war, like that in Kosovo, we can rely on technology and expertise. But, when the going gets tough, there is only one thing that can guarantee our survival, and that is the bravery of those who are locked in combat. Just as the risk-free economy destroys the enterprise on which it depends, so does risk-free warfare sap the courage needed for warfare. Indeed, there is no greater threat to safety than the obsession with safety.

I have no doubt that our soldiers and airmen are willing to take risks. For the liberal rot has not yet destroyed military institutions. The military, however, are schooled in another ethos than the politicians who command them; and when the commander in chief is a president whose only experience of war is to avoid being called upon to fight in it, then the liberal mindset takes center stage. That is what we are witnessing in Kosovo; and the sad thing is that there will not be fewer deaths and less suffering as a result of this hampered strategy, but more deaths and more suffering, precisely because the time for decisive action has been so unconscionably postponed. **NR**

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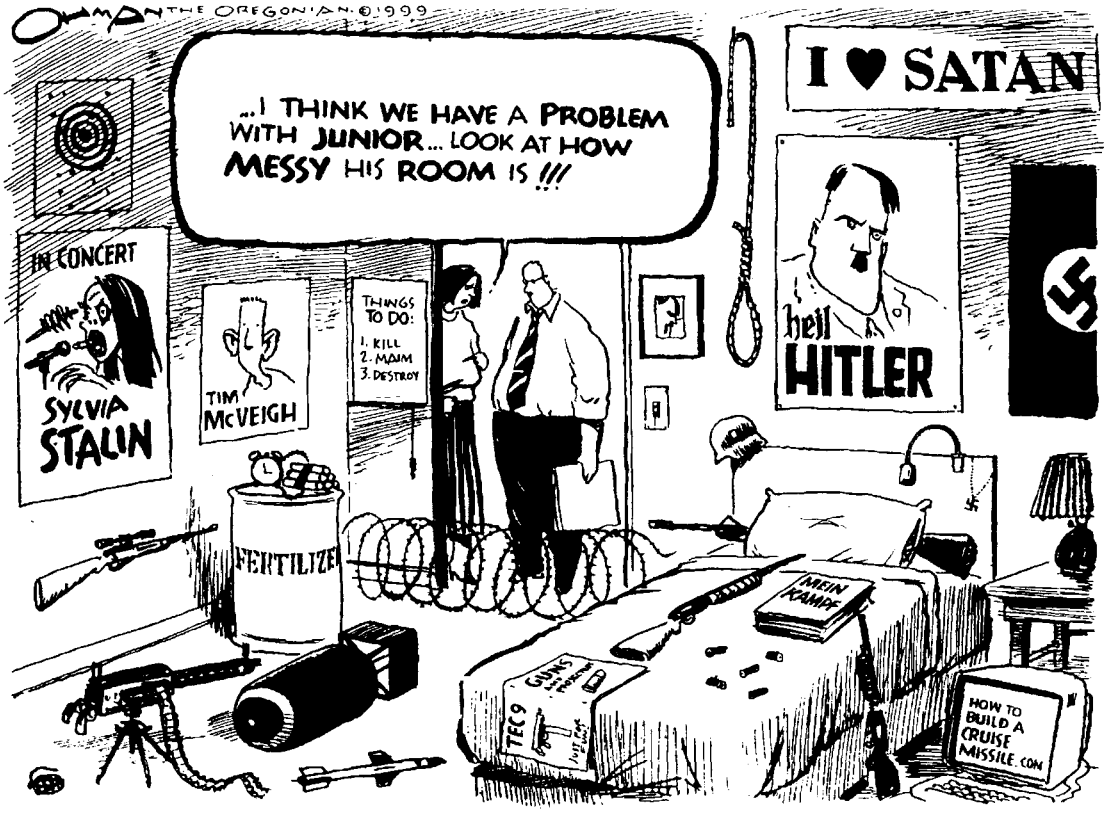

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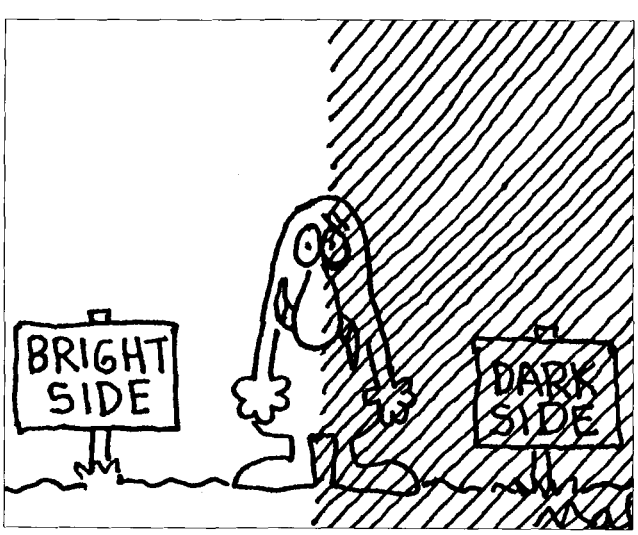
"Goodness, this author is certainly not in control of his plot!"

"Yeah, I'm a male muse—you got a problem with that?"



"What's happened to us? You never bother to go on the defensive anymore."

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 9, 1999

Dear Rusty,

Once again, Tipper and I are not speaking.

It all goes back to the thing in Littleton. Tipper took the opportunity to remind everyone that ever since she stopped being concerned about filthy rock lyrics, she's been concerned about mental-health issues. So she unveils a set of warning signs for parents—things that they should be on the lookout for in their teenagers.

One of the ways that they diagnose potentially disturbed teens is by giving them a little questionnaire. So she makes me take this test—a "control," she calls it.

"Do you see yourself as a leader of a new and powerful movement?" she asks.

Well, what am I going to do? Lie? "Yes," I say. "Yes, I do." Tipper nods and writes my answer down. Next question: "Do you see yourself surrounded by people who want to hurt you?" Again, pretty clear answer: "Yes, especially Bill Bradley." She makes some more scratches. "Do you think people understand you?" Well, obviously they don't—I mean, I got all that flak for claiming to have created the Internet, when everyone knows that I didn't actually create the thing, when I know that I didn't create it, in the sense of actually putting the wires together and stuff. I meant to say that I had perfected it. It was a little thing, then I made it into a globe-transforming power. (Actually, in a way, I did create it.)

So I tell this to Tipper and she sort of looks at me funny, then writes some stuff down.

"Have you ever broken the law?"

So I tell her that technically, of course, I shouldn't have taken those envelopes of cash from those Buddhists, but upon reviewing the relevant statutes, it's not possible to conclude that I broke the law in the sense of breaking it. She writes some more things down.

"Do you find yourself listening to different music? Spending time with new people?"

Well, what can I say? Yes to both. She nods, then starts adding up my score.

"According to this test, Al," she says sadly, "you are a dangerous megalomaniac, a threat to yourself and your community. Your ability to reconcile your extremely high self-regard with your past actions is classic sociopathic behavior."

"What does that mean?" I ask.

"It means that if you took this test as a teenager in high school, you would probably be institutionalized."

"Whew!" I said. "It's a good thing I'm running *for president.*"

We didn't talk any more about it until last week, when Tipper revealed on national television that she was taking anti-depressants.

"Good Lord, Tipper!" I shouted when I heard the news. "How about a little 'heads up' before you make an announcement like that!"

"I thought you knew," she said. "I told you months ago."

"I thought you said 'anti-oxidants.' Since when have you been depressed?"

"Ever since you claimed to have created the Internet," she answered glumly. "Ever since you told everyone that you saw combat in 'hot 'Nam.'"

"I was there!" I shouted.

"In a hotel!" she shouted back. "The only weapon they issued you was a typewriter!"

"That's not how I remember it, Tipper."

"I know, Al. That's the problem."

It's weird, Rusty. Bill and Hillary have so much to be depressed about—and they're both on their merry way. But let me ask you something: Do YOU think I'm a threat to myself and my community?

Your pal, Al

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BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

To Each His Own

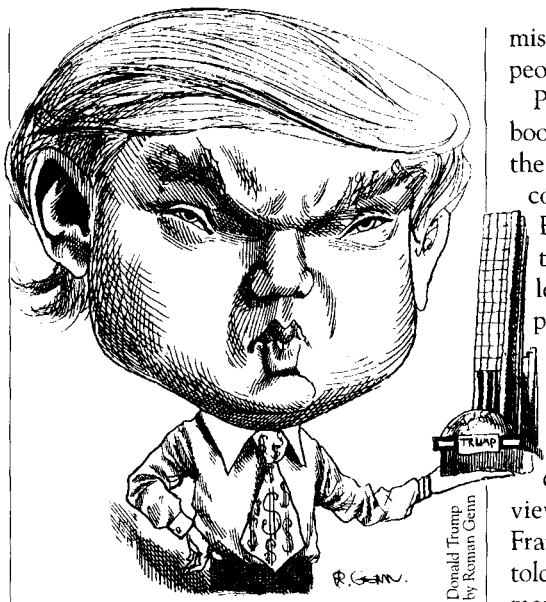
CHARLES MURRAY

Property and Freedom, by Richard Pipes (Knopf, 352 pp., $30)

IF a common passion can be said to unite America's Right, it is probably property rights. One seldom meets a libertarian, social conservative, neoconservative, or paleoconservative who does not have a highly developed sense that anything he owns is his, dammit, and the government has no business interfering. But for more than a century now, property rights has been the passion that dare not speak its name—at least if one wishes to be thought cosmopolitan and large-minded. The Left has quite successfully associated the advocacy of property rights with rich people who are trying to get away with something.

It is inspiriting then that not one but two principled defenses of property rights have emerged within the last year—Tom Bethell's *Noblest Triumph* (reviewed Aug. 17, 1998) and now Richard Pipes's *Property and Freedom*. Pipes, one of the world's leading scholars of Russian history, set himself an ambitious agenda. He observes that library shelves are filled with explications of freedom, and economic and legal analyses of property, but "we lack an explanation, based on concrete historical material, of just how property gives rise to freedom and how its absence makes possible arbitrary authority. It is this gap I thought of filling."

The result is a surprising and splendid book. It is surprising because Pipes has done something that eminent scholars rarely do: move outside his specialty and tackle a topic that is both sprawling and politically charged. Pipes acknowledges his trepidation—it is daunting for a scholar to leave behind the security blanket of mastery. Coming out of the political closet must also have been a big step. It is one thing to have advised Ronald Reagan about Russia and Eastern Europe, as Pipes did. It is another to abandon the apolitical persona that many academics publicly assume when it comes to domestic politics. But abandon it Pipes has, exposing himself as something akin to a Hayekian.



Donald Trump by Roman Genn

Property and Freedom is splendid because it retains the perspective and sweep of great historical scholarship. Too often, books making political cases are long on argumentation and short on evidence. In contrast, *Property and Freedom* is so packed with historical meat and potatoes that it will be used as a sourcebook for years to come. When it comes to everything European—and Europe is where most of the modern philosophical and institutional story of property has played out—the reader has the sense of reading not a brief for a case, but a measured account written by a man intimately familiar with his sources. When Pipes comes to fields not his own, his "derivative knowledge" (his own dismissive phrase) is at a level that most people would mistake for expertise.

Perhaps the most satisfying part of the book is its response to a key argument in the assault on property—that the very concept of property is artificial. From Rousseau to the New Left, it was said that human beings who have been left uncorrupted—or who have been properly trained—do not think in terms of "mine" and "thine," but happily acquiesce in the common ownership of things. Early-20th-century anthropologists and psychologists lent their prestige to this view. Man is culturally conditioned, Franz Boas and the cultural relativists told us. Man is the product of reinforcement schedules, said John Watson and the behaviorists. Human nature is a fraud, said just about everyone during the first seven decades of the century.

Pipes launches a devastating empirical assault on this set of positions. Let us look at our evolutionary roots in the form of territoriality and possessiveness among animals, says Pipes, and then he leads us through a concise review of the findings of sociobiology. If property is an artificial invention of modernity, let us look at possessiveness among primitive cultures and early agricultural societies, permeated with concepts of ownership that antedate political organization. Or if we think that the urge toward property must be taught, let us look at the behavior of small children.

In each case, there is really only one empirical case to be made: The instinct to possess, to demarcate territory, to own, seems to be among the most hard-wired of human instincts. The evidence to the contrary relies on anomalies, experimentally discredited theories, and, in the case of the anthropological record, occasional fabrication of data. Of course, in the case of children the scholarly record is nearly superfluous.

Mr. Murray is a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and the author most recently of *What It Means to Be a Libertarian.*

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What parent of a small child does not understand that the instinct to possess is primal and the concept of sharing must be taught?

Pipes then turns to post-medieval Europe, using as centerpieces long case studies of England, the classical liberal model of property rights, and Russia, the archetype of the patrimonial state in which property rights never gain more than a precarious foothold. His historical survey concludes with a discussion of the assault on property that has characterized the 20th century. Part of the story is simple and savage, as Communism and fascism demonstrated what monstrosities may be committed when the state either destroys property rights (as in Communism) or holds them hostage to the whim of a dictator (as in fascism). The other part of the story is the subtle but pervasive degradation of property rights in the Western democracies.

This second part is paradoxical in two senses. It is no longer in serious dispute that the engine of wealth in the modern world has been free enterprise. And it is equally settled that property rights—referring not only to physical property but to intellectual property and collateral rights to enter into enforceable contract—have been indispensable to the success of free enterprise. And yet—the first paradox—the same Western democracies that have profited so vastly from the protection of property rights have over the course of the century circumscribed both property rights and the right of contract to an astonishing degree, and the process continues unabated today.

The second paradox is that those who have been most victimized include the wealthiest and economically most powerful elements of the electorate, and yet they protest only feebly and ineffectually. In part, this is explained by the diffuse nature of modern restrictions on property rights. Typically, the group that suffers directly from a reform is so small and specialized that it cannot easily build a coalition; the incremental intrusions that affect large groups have been small enough that no single new restriction has triggered a revolt. And since the economy is growing and we're all getting richer anyway, why rock the boat?

Property and Freedom's last chapter deals with Pipes's reflections on why we must indeed rock the boat—why, at bottom, the point of property rights is not economic prosperity but freedom itself. If only the politicians of the Right who have made a career of political advocacy could express themselves as eloquently, with as deep an understanding of the value of freedom, as this retired professor of Russian history from Harvard. *Property and Freedom* is a superb book about a topic that should be front and center in the American political debate. **NR**

Aristotle Rediscovered

PHILLIP E. JOHNSON

The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order, by Francis Fukuyama (Free Press, 336 pp., $26)

In his brilliant but misguided book *The Selfish Gene*, the evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins began by quoting (with resounding approval) George Gaylord Simpson's remark that all attempts to explain human nature before Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* "are worthless, and we will be better off if we ignore them completely." Hardly. Whatever one thinks about Darwinism as an explanation for the origin of plants and animals, attempts to extend the theory to human behavior have a dismal history. Darwinists are as embarrassed by social Darwinism as Catholics are by the Spanish Inquisition. Offshoots like Marxism and behaviorism have fared no better. Still, it is very difficult for a Darwinist to discard the premise that natural selection simply must hold the key to understanding all aspects of human nature. So periodically social Darwinism is cleaned up and revived under a new name like "sociobiology" or "evolutionary psychology."

Mr. Johnson is professor of law at the University of California, Berkeley, and author of *Darwin on Trial*.

Sometimes this project involves giving a Darwinian spin to some ancient wisdom. This is the case with the new book by Francis Fukuyama, an author made famous by his first book, 1992's *End of History and the Last Man*. Fukuyama manages to find in evolutionary psychology support for the natural-law teaching of Aristotle, the philosopher of common sense and (via Thomas Aquinas) of the Roman Catholic Church. Fukuyama reports that "while [scientific] research in a certain sense does not tell us anything that Aristotle didn't know, it allows us to be much more precise about the nature of human sociability, and what is and is not rooted in the human genome."

In fact very little is known about how genes influence complex social behavior, but never mind. You can throw the facile evolutionary theorizing overboard and take Fukuyama's updating of Aristotle straight. When Fukuyama says that some characteristic is rooted in the genome he simply means that it seems to be innate rather than learned. For example, "It takes a great deal of effort to separate a mother from her newborn infant; by contrast, it usually takes a fair

Government is necessary, but human nature is the primary norm-setter.

amount of effort to get a father to be involved with his." Aristotle didn't need to know about genes to know that.

Fukuyama is a social scientist, not a geneticist, and his methods are not all that different from Aristotle's: He observes and interprets the social world. The Great Disruption of his title is the breakdown of moral and social restraints that occurred from the 1960s to the early 1990s, as measured by such standard indicators of social pathology as rising rates of crime, divorce, and out-of-wedlock births. Fukuyama attributes the disruption to the side effects of America's transition from an industrial economy to an informational economy, as symbolized by the ubiquitous personal computer. This transformation greatly increased human freedom, but by the same token increased moral individual-

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ism, which tends to destroy social capital. "Social capital" means the relationships of trust that make it possible to have honest business dealings with strangers, or to move around one's city without getting robbed, or to build stable families that can give children a proper start in life. That social capital is gradually being rebuilt as we enter the period Fukuyama calls The Great Reconstruction.

His message is that social disruption is self-healing, provided that people are given a chance to follow their innate desires for norm-setting and for building communities. The children of Hamelin, who followed the Pied Piper to a new land, will construct new social norms not very different from the ones they left behind. They will create private property, markets, kinship systems, and status hierarchies. They will value honesty, trustworthiness, and reciprocity. They will experience dishonesty and crime, and will employ community mechanisms for controlling such deviance—for instance, pervasive gossip to spread the word about who can be trusted. They "*will spontaneously create all of these rules without the benefit of a prophet who will bring the word of God to them and without the benefit of a lawgiver to establish government*" (emphasis in original). Government is necessary to mediate relationships among voluntary groups, and to encourage the circle of trust to grow wider rather than narrower; but human nature is the primary norm-setter.

That's an encouraging message, and one many religious people will appreciate despite Fukuyama's patronizing view of theology and his belief in nature as a substitute for Revelation. (He refers to the prospect of large-scale religious revival as "a Western version of Ayatollah Khomeini returning to Iran on a jetliner.") His personal beliefs aside, Fukuyama's direction is inherently friendly to religion because he places a high value on voluntary associations that build social capital. What he is against is the notion that we need top-down social engineering from either political or religious leaders to build communities of trust and mutual respect. He's certainly right about that. We can get along very well without a state church, or a public monopoly in education, or utopian "Great Society" programs that produce only unintended consequences. What a democracy can't get along without is citizens who have common sense, and who are given the opportunity to use it. **NR**

Think Big?

DAVID KLINGHOFFER

God's Funeral: The Decline of Faith in Western Civilization, by A. N. Wilson (Norton, 512 pp., $29.95)

If you want to feel like an ant in the footsteps of your not-so-distant ancestors, read this book. The alleged "big issues" of our own time range from the profound yet mainly theoretical (partial-birth abortion, homosexuality) to the piddling yet . . . piddling (school vouchers, war with Yugoslavia). In Victorian England, and to some extent in America, the main issue before the public was profound both in its philosophical and practical aspects. A variety of passionate and eloquent parties—orthodox, modernist, agnostic, atheist—were at war over the ultimate question: the existence of God.

The modernists won, as A. N. Wilson makes clear in this first-rate work of popular intellectual history. By "modernist" he means folks who don't deny God, who respect the spiritual yearning of human beings, yet who don't for a minute accept the historical underpinnings of Biblical religion: Sinai for Jews, Calvary for Christians.

Though as a young man he was an enthusiastic Christian, Wilson himself falls into the modernist camp. Every book I've read by him—this one along with his lively, fascinating biographies of Jesus and St. Paul and a less memorable novel about a disillusioned clergyman, *The Vicar of Sorrows*—seeks in part to justify or explain the loss of faith that befell him. As Cardinal Newman, one of Wilson's protagonists here, described his own religious evolution from Anglican to Roman Catholic, "It was not logic that carried me on; as well might one say that the quicksilver in the barometer changes the weather . . . [T]he whole man moves; paper logic is but the record of it."

Between the lifetimes of David Hume and Sigmund Freud, the religious sensibility of the educated classes moved violently from belief to unbelief. Seeking to understand how this happened, Wilson offers a record of paper logic.

The blows to orthodoxy commenced around 1776 and kept coming thereafter. In *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Edward Gibbon debunked the official church history of the early Christian saints and martyrs. Hume unleashed his philosophy of skepticism with its nihilistic implications. Kant undermined the traditional proofs for God's existence. Building on Kant, Hegel's notion of history's progress hurled itself against traditional belief in the degeneration of generations: that each historical era takes the human community farther from the moment of Revelation, so that in wisdom father always trumps son. Hegel's generous evaluation of his own era's wisdom led to German Biblical criticism, demoting the Bible from sacred history to sacred myth. Unlike most writers who have traced the etiology of modern spiritual sickness, Wilson doesn't underestimate this last development: "If any one phenomenon may be said to have been responsible for the destruction of ordinary Christian faith in the 19th-century Protestant world (and in the Catholic world, when they allowed themselves to become aware of it), it was this critical approach to the Scriptures."

We may feel Lilliputian in relation to our ancestors, but there's a virtue in thinking small.

By the time Darwin appeared with his own soon-to-be-sacred myth, the just-so story of Natural Selection and its teaching that no Creator need have played a role in the evolution of life, it was as if resistance to agnosticism had been weakened, blow after blow, by some noxious, history-guiding spirit. It only remained for Freud to invent the faith-substitute that cosmopolitan Westerners are stuck with today: sal-

Mr. Klinghoffer, an NR senior editor, is author of *The Lord Will Gather Me In: My Journey to Jewish Orthodoxy.*

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vation through psychotherapy.

Wilson tells the story so enjoyably, with such witty, clear-eyed unsentimentality, that you forget to ask how devastating all this must have been in the lives of regular people influenced by but outside the often smug circles of intellectuals who did all the heavy thinking. Wilson doesn't say. About the thinkers, however, there's no question you get the straight stuff from him, free of flatulent history-classroom reverence. His frank appraisals are delightful, as in his comments on the Utilitarians ("men who were . . . deeply odd"), Hegelianism ("mass-egomania on the grand scale"), Thomas Carlyle ("to the 20th-century reader . . . [he] seems little more than a windbag"), and Herbert Spencer ("this pompous ass").

One notes that then as now, secularism and left-wingery go together—a fact that should worry conservatives who want to buttress their political notions with Darwinian sociobiology. The autobiographical novelist Samuel Butler (1835–1902), for example, could pitch a movie script in Hollywood any day this week with his "two great themes—dismissal of Christianity and hatred of family life."

But the most interesting lesson of this book has nothing to do with politics; it has to do with with the advisability of trying to think big thoughts about God. We may feel Lilliputian in relation to our ancestors, but there's a virtue in thinking small.

Wilson's intellectuals debated the biggest question they could think of: What, if anything, is God? In their company, one encounters no discussion whatsoever of more modest questions: of ethics, ritual. Their mistake is alluded to in the Bible.

Easy to pass over, Exodus 20:15 states enigmatically that at Mt. Sinai the Israelites "saw" the sounds of Revelation. Of this, the best explanation I've come across notes that sight is associated with totality, the big picture. In a glance you can take in a whole panorama. But sound, intelligible only on a word-by-word basis, one voice at a time, is associated with detail. The intellectual antagonists in Wilson's account forgot that Revelation is both sight and sound, the big picture and the small details, inseparable.

Or maybe they never knew in the first place that in the humble observances of religious life the big picture can be perceived, if dimly; otherwise, not. A culture that devolves into an exclusive preoccupation with Big Questions must inevitably come to despair. **NR**

Private Obsessions

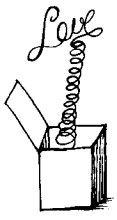
JOHN DERBYSHIRE

The Limits of Privacy, by Amitai Etzioni (Basic, 304 pp., $25)

The End of Privacy: How Total Surveillance Is Becoming a Reality, by Reg Whitaker (New Press, 256 pp., $25)

Of the very boring diet of the ancient Greeks, the classicist Alfred E. Zimmern observed that the usual Attic meal consisted of two courses: the first a kind of porridge and the second another kind of porridge. Here are two books about the status of, and prospects for, personal privacy. One is a kind of porridge and the other is . . . well, now you know what I think of them.

To take Amitai Etzioni's *Limits of Privacy* first: It is organized with some care and offers its suggestions thoughtfully, after presenting all counter-arguments. The section on data encryption is of direct professional interest to me—I am a systems analyst at a Wall Street firm. The chapter on "Megan's Laws," statutes directed against child abuse but potentially abusive of privacy, is of direct personal interest—I have two young children. The other topics (ID cards, access to medical records) are ones that every responsible citizen should give some thought to. Yet after 20 pages I was fidgeting; after 50 I was reaching for the No-Doz; and by the time I set this book down I was in the frame of mind expressed by Millar the printer on being handed the last manuscript page of Samuel Johnson's mighty dictionary: "Thank God I have done with him."



Mr. Derbyshire is the author of *Seeing Calvin Coolidge in a Dream*.

Etzioni is a professor of law and writes like one, calling his method a "methodology." He is also a leading voice of the self-styled "communitarian" movement that believes we have been passing through a regrettable period of extreme individualism—egged on by the likes of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan—in which the very concept of "the common good" has almost been lost. What can be done? We "need to lean on [Big Brother] to protect privacy better from Big Buck." It is all the fault of wicked capitalists, you see, and the solution is—guess what?—more government. You did know that we are under-governed, didn't you?

The problem with all this—aside from the elementary point, invisible from the Left, that Big Buck cannot lawfully kill us, jail us, distrain upon our property, kidnap our children, or embroil us in unnecessary wars—is that Etzioni's solutions presuppose integrity and goodwill where those things do not exist. The earnest professor seems not to understand that one reason the pendulum has swung so far towards the individual and against the community is that, since outlawing shame and respectability and handing over the machinery of social control to politicians and bureaucrats, we have found out what those people are capable of.

■

'Information technology has transformed our lives!' gasps Reg Whitaker. 'It will transform our world!'

■

Discussing medical records, for example, Etzioni opens one of his sections like this:

"The Clinton administration outlined in 1997 six standards to be included in any comprehensive privacy bill. . . . (1) Medical records should, with few exceptions, be disclosed only for the purpose of health care. . . . (6) Criminal punishments should be imposed on those who use medical information improperly . . ."

Would that be the same Clinton

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administration that employed a night-club bouncer to riffle through FBI files on private citizens? That sicced the IRS on its personal enemies? That hired detectives to explore and expose the sex lives of those who refused the president's husky advances? And that got away with it all? We have descended here into the wonderland inhabited by the Mandarins of Imperial China at the wrong end of a dynasty, composing grave essays on statecraft in elegant calligraphy while the Son of Heaven frolics with concubines, palace eunuchs loot the treasury, and watching barbarians quietly polish their swords. What use to talk of "community" and the citizenly virtues of our ancestors?

We may build more splendid habitations,
Fill our rooms with paintings and with sculptures,
But we cannot
Buy with gold the old associations!

Reg Whitaker employs a different method (or methodology) to explain how quaint and untenable our notions of privacy have become: breathless techno-babble. "Information technology has transformed our lives!" he gasps. "It will transform our world!" Well, perhaps it will and perhaps it won't; but one would have more confidence in his prescriptions (supposing one could summon the patience to figure out what they are—something to do with World Government, I believe) if he showed a more reliable grasp of the current technology.

For example: "In writing this book, I have occasionally required a particular quotation whose source I did not have at hand . . . " No problem for our fleet-fingered cybernaut: He can search for that quote on the Internet and paste it into his text. "This is empowering technology." Well, a few pages earlier the author did indeed deliver himself of a quote, asserting that: "There is an old jazz song: 'The Night Has a Thousand Eyes.'" Neither old nor jazz, I'm afraid, and only incidentally a song—a pop song recorded by Bobby Vee in 1962; but the title was lifted intact from a poem by Francis William Bourdillon. All of which information is on the Internet (many times over, in the case of that dreadful poem—it is a favorite on personal websites). Empowering technology, indeed; but first you have to know how to use it.

Professor Whitaker at least has this advantage over Professor Etzioni: His moon-booted prose is so inept it offers occasional light relief from the incoherence of his presentation. In a passage on the part played in current political scandals by the recording of conversations and the tapping of telephones, he informs us that: "Washington . . . has long been a prime market for do-it-yourself buggers." Professor Whitaker lives in Canada. **NR**

Coming Clean

ROD DREHER

Moab Is My Washpot: An Autobiography, by Stephen Fry (Random House, 352 pp., $24)

MANY Americans have never heard of Stephen Fry, the English actor, novelist, essayist, and bon vivant. But 50 pages into his poignant, disarmingly witty, and felicitous account of an extravagantly misspent youth, one devoutly wishes this charming eccentric would come around every Sunday for tea and the telling of tales. Without a doubt, Fry

■

Yearning this concentrated can ripen into something sweet, or sour into destructive passion.

■

would have an interesting opinion on everything from croutons to crown molding.

The book's title is the key to its theme. The phrase "Moab is my washpot" comes from Psalm 108, and it alludes to God's contempt for the enemies of Israel. The nation of Moab, as we learn from Jeremiah, got on His bad side because of "her overweening pride and conceit, her

Mr. Dreher is chief film critic for the *New York Post*.

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pride and arrogance and the haughtiness of her heart." God brought Moab low because of her futile insolence, yet He promised to "restore the fortunes of Moab in the days to come."

Which is pretty much what happened to young Fry, an inordinately brilliant student and incorrigible brat. Before he found success in the movies (*Peter's Friends*, *Wilde*), on television (*Jeeves and Wooster*), and with his novels (including the semi-autobiographical *Liar*), Fry was Her Majesty's prisoner. The petty thieveries and lies of later childhood metastasized into a lunatic binge, in which our 17-year-old hero peregrinated around England on someone else's credit card. His fraud conviction won Fry a brief jail sentence, after which he went on to win a Cambridge scholarship, fame, and fortune.

Fry's ascent to showbiz paradise is the subject for a future volume. The present one is a critical but thoughtful remembrance of childhood, a confession in which the author accepts fault for his manifold transgressions—and hallelujah, there is not the slightest trace of self-pity or blame-tossing. He also relates, with literate humor and robust goodwill, an overstuffed portmanteau of anecdotes, rants, tributes, and observations about growing up a self-conscious aesthete, a Jew, a public-school boy, and ultimately a homosexual in Baby Boomer Britain.

Perhaps because anyone's memories of early childhood are spotty at best, the first chapters are the most digressive, and the most entertaining. Fry often departs from his narrative to offer views on all sorts of topics, including calligraphy (for), the monarchy (for, and for deeply conservative reasons), and sexuality (insanely permissive). Thanks to the strength of his florid, sometimes screamingly funny prose, Fry makes his theory on the social role of music and dance entirely persuasive. In short, "If you can't dance, you can't join in." By his own admission, Fry can't dance and couldn't carry a tune if it had handles. This young man's inability to do that which he wanted most to do—sing and dance spiritedly and effortlessly with his friends—imparted a sense of being in permanent exile, a wound from which he never recovered. The gawky lad's "nerdile" (a Fry neologism) lack of athletic grace made another much-desired activity, swimming, likewise next to impossible.

And yet, he writes: "Heightened self-consciousness, apartness, an inability to join in, physical shame and self-loathing—they are not all bad. Those devils have also been my angels. Without them I would never have disappeared into language, literature, the mind, laughter, and all the mad intensities that made and unmade me." Language in particular was "my only resource in a world of tribal shouts and athleticism and them, the swimmers and singers; it was also a private gem collection, a sweet shop, a treasure chest."

Fry's misadventures as a public-school boy, while vastly entertaining, won't have as much resonance for the American reader as for the English. Still, the author's recollections of adolescence—its self-righteousness, snot-nosed egocentricity, "the clarity of its vision, the unfathomable depths and insurmountable heights of its despair and joy"—are so truthful and movingly recounted that you find yourself stopping frequently to note in recognition: Yes, that's exactly how it was.

Especially in the urgent and crushing matter of unrequited teenage love. The great event of his first 20 years, Fry writes, was falling in love at age 14 with a male classmate. The boy did not reciprocate, but Fry's yearning, which in his telling was more spiritual than lustful, directed all his thoughts for years. Yearning this concentrated can ripen into something especially sweet, or sour into destructive passion. The latter fate befell young Fry.

English jails have not detained a more effervescent intelligence since Fry's hero, Oscar Wilde. Yet prison was the breaking of Wilde; it proved the making of Fry.

Though he doesn't belabor the point, Fry clearly believes his arrest and imprisonment at age 17 shook him out of his own arrogance and awakened him to the love of family and friends. He writes, "Thank the gods there is such a thing as redemption."

Moab Is My Washpot is the engaging testimony of a great and cruel wit who became a good and wise man without losing his sense of humor. The actor's generosity of spirit infuses every chapter of this exquisite memoir. **NR**

Elementary

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

Teller of Tales: The Life of Arthur Conan Doyle, by Daniel Stashower (Holt, 512 pp., $32.50)

CERTAIN facts about Sir Arthur Conan Doyle are familiar to everyone who knows anything at all about the creator of Sherlock Holmes. He based Holmes partly on a brilliantly observant diagnostician who had taught him at medical college in Edinburgh. He was irritated by the way in which the vast worldwide success of the Sherlock Holmes stories tended to obscure what he considered his more important work, especially the historical novels, such as *The White Company* and *Sir Nigel*; which is why he tried, vainly, to kill Holmes off in the Reichenbach Falls.

Arthur Conan Doyle's historical fiction is rooted forever amid the gaslight and hansom cabs of the 1890s.

He espoused a number of public causes, mostly very proper ones, including the exposure, using forensic evidence, of several criminal cases in which there had been a clear miscarriage of justice. Later he became a fervent advocate of spiritualism, a campaign marred, at least in retrospect, by the gullibility with which he accepted the photographs of fairies that two little girls claimed to have taken.

Daniel Stashower's well-researched, well-constructed, and well-written biography neither contradicts nor adds anything of groundbreaking significance to these elementary facts. Confidence is rather shaken at the start when Stashower, and indeed the index, refer to Conan Doyle's second wife as "Lady Jean," as though she were the daughter

Mr. Lejeune is an NR contributing editor.

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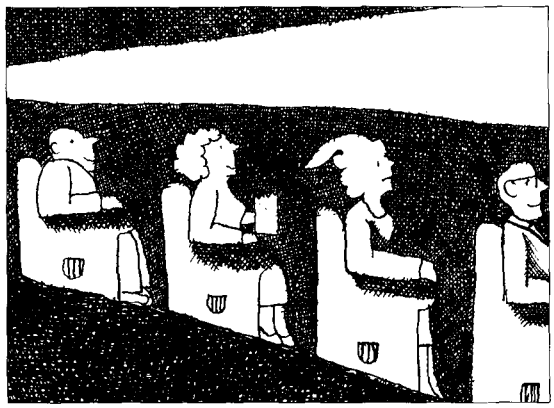
of an earl (which she was not), instead of "Lady Conan Doyle," the wife of a knight (which she was). More curiously, he bungles one of the hoariest of schoolboy jokes. ("When is a door not a door?" "When it's a-jar.") Most inexcusably, there is only a selective, not a complete, bibliography of Conan Doyle's published work.

To deduce major faults from these minor ones, however would be unfair. Conan Doyle's personality—he was a big, genial, generous man with a ready sense of dry humor—is fully brought out and the narrative garnished with much unfamiliar detail. I never knew (or, if I did, I'd forgotten) that the name "Holmes" was probably taken from Oliver Wendell Holmes, whom Conan Doyle greatly admired; or that his early effusions, even after the publication of *A Study in Scarlet*, included, for the *Gas and Water Gazette*, an English version of a German article snappily entitled "Testing Gas Pipes for Leakage." I was pleased to learn that he had a low opinion of modern art and, having stood unsuccessfully for Parliament, an even lower one of the "vile business" of electioneering.

Such views occasionally make Stashower uneasy. "Modern readers," he warns, "may shake their heads" at Conan Doyle's defense of boxing. ("Better that our sports should be a little too rough than that we should run the risk of effeminacy.") Not this modern reader.

Stashower, himself a member of the Society of Psychical Research ("a cordial disbeliever," in his own words), gives a particularly full account of Conan Doyle's involvement with spiritualism; an emphasis of which Conan Doyle would have thoroughly approved. I'm less sure that he adequately conveys, to anyone who hasn't read them lately, the allure of Conan Doyle's earlier books—the charm and humor of the Brigadier Gerard stories, the authentically heroic mood of the medieval romances. Because Stashower's approach is more sober and scholarly, he lacks the imaginative fire that illumined John Dickson Carr's 50-year-old biography. Both books tell us how important the concept of chivalry was to Conan Doyle, but Carr made us feel what it meant. And Stashower would never have added Carr's bitter comment (he was writing under the oppressive regime of Britain's postwar Labour government) that the White Company's cry "We are free Englishmen" echoes back "with sad nostalgia in this year 1947."

Ironically, the passage of time has turned the Sherlock Holmes stories into



Conan Doyle's most vivid historical fiction. Although the last of them did not appear until 1927, they are rooted forever amid the gaslight and hansom cabs of the 1890s. It was a wonderful period for archetypal characters and storytellers. Holmes stands—at the head, unchallengeably—of a company that includes Dr. Fu-Manchu, Dracula, Father Brown, Raffles, the Scarlet Pimpernel, Beau Geste, Svengali, Peter Pan, and Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. Among Conan Doyle's fellow craftsmen were Rider Haggard, Rudyard Kipling, Anthony Hope, John Buchan, and H. G. Wells. "The final decade of his life," says Stashower, "saw the publication of *Lady Chatterly's Lover*, *A Farewell to Arms*, *The Great Gatsby*, *Ulysses*, and *To the Lighthouse*." Has any of those (one is tempted to say overrated) books given as much joy, or stuck in as many memories, as *The Hound of the Baskervilles*?

That his two principal biographers should both be Americans would have given Conan Doyle (who knows, perhaps does give him) great pleasure, for there was one other noble cause that he espoused, not yet mentioned. At the front of the book he loved best, *The White Company*, he wrote: "To the hope of the future, the reunion of the English-speaking races, this little chronicle of our common ancestry is inscribed." **NR**

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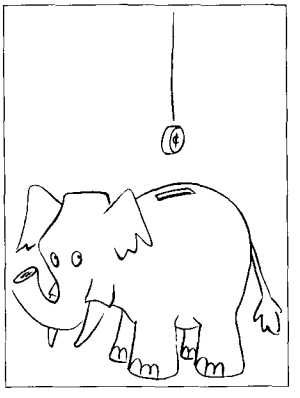
■ FILM ■

Pidgeon Feathers

JOHN SIMON

SOME good people have been wondering what possessed David Mamet to film Terence Rattigan's play ***The Winslow Boy***, something so far removed from his stock-in-trade. Based on a British law case from 1908–10 in which a father fought the expulsion of his young son from a naval college, it tells how an elderly, not so healthy or wealthy man gambled everything to clear the boy accused of stealing a chum's five-shilling postal note. To challenge the Crown, he managed to acquire the services of a distinguished barrister, not ordinarily apt to take on such a case, save that the poor odds tickled his vanity.

I imagine I am not giving away much when I tell you that the case was won, or there would have been no movie here. The Admiralty, as defendant, grudgingly conceded the case after four days of trial. The legal maneuverings were highly complicated, and Rattigan took a number of liberties. Thus he moved the action forward to World War I to intensify matters, and he turned Catherine Winslow (all names were changed), the expelled Ronnie's sister, from a conservative to a suffragette. The much older brother became a larking Oxford undergrad, Dickie. So Rattigan was able to magnify the family's sacrifices, which included Dickie's having to give up Oxford and Catherine's losing her arch-conservative fiancé.



Mamet relished the idea of a royal government being proved wrong. More important, I suspect, he saw a chance to display his English wife, Rebecca Pidgeon, and provide her brother, Matthew, a relatively obscure stage actor, with his first movie role. Mrs. Mamet, to be sure, had been in other movies and plays of her husband's, but as Catherine (so the thinking must have gone) she could show off her Old World British finesse, while her brother could enjoy an easy but showy—and, above all, British—role tailored for him.

As it happens, Matthew is quite good as the grasshopper who must turn ant, and even his slightly goony, gap-toothed look works in his favor. The movie, much more than the play, suggests a buried love interest between Catherine and Sir Robert Morton, as the lawyer is called here (in reality, he was Edward Carson, Oscar Wilde's nemesis). For this purpose, Mamet cast Jeremy Northam in a part that befits an older actor. At the London premiere of the play, it was Emlyn Williams, then 42; in the 1947 English movie version, it was Robert Donat, 43. Northam, possibly the most popular young leading man of the British stage and screen, was clearly an uxorious husband's gift to his wife. He does well enough, but lacks the seasoned, shrewd, icy superiority that would enhance the drama.

At least the father, Arthur Winslow, is perfectly cast: Nigel Hawthorne may be England's pawkiest, most complex character actor today, and he brings to the role a blend of canniness and idealism, stubbornness and sensitivity, delectably right. Gemma Jones, an archetypal English mother hen, anguishes admirably as his wife. Even Colin Stinton, a Mamet protégé and very American, does surprisingly well as the shy family solicitor hopelessly in love with Catherine. That Aden Gillett, as Catherine's weak-kneed fiancé, is a bit cloddish heightens the interest in the Catherine–Sir Robert sparring, she being such a liberal, he so conservative.

But, alas, in the beefed-up part of Catherine (the movie might as well have been called *The Winslow Girl*) we get Mrs. Mamet. If smugness were edible, Rebecca Pidgeon could provide food for every last displaced Kosovar. Was there an actress within living memory who so oozed self-satisfaction from every pore, whose voice so throbbed with condescension, talking at people rather than to them? Add to this what can be called either Bette Davis bug eyes or a case of Graves' disease, resulting in a goiterous gaze to chill our blood. But then, how else does one stay married to America's cockiest playwright?

Mamet has opened up the play, which allows for interesting re-creations of Parliament in session, but also diminishes the tension Rattigan achieved by keeping everything within four—or three—walls. There is superior cinematography from the French cameraman Benoît Delhomme, who had the felicitous idea of selling Mamet on a volume of reproductions of John Singer Sargent paintings; Sargent's palette and

■

Was there an actress within living memory who so oozed self-satisfaction from every pore?

■

use of light suit *The Winslow Boy* to a tee. It is, but for Miss Pidgeon, an eminently watchable film, and even that young Guy Edwards, in the title part, has something slightly ambiguous about him adds a not unwelcome note of uncertainty to the somewhat predictable proceedings.

■ Shakespeare has had good times and bad times on film, and now that a movie he starred in won the Oscar, his services will doubtless be even more in demand. So we get a remake of ***A Midsummer Night's Dream*** by the director Michael Hoffman, who also gets credit for a screenplay whose words are all Shakespeare's.

Those who have seen Max Reinhardt's classic black-and-white version of 1935, and Peter Hall's colored one of 1968, may wonder if a third go was really necessary. But then, this is one of the most popular plays in the canon, and Hoffman's track record, which includes *One Fine Day* and *Restoration*, could use a boost.

And, touchingly, ever since the director, in a college production in Boise, played Lysander, he has been dreaming of making this movie.

Hoffman also loves Italy, and decided to shoot his film in the town of Montepulciano, around the Palazzo Far-

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nese in Caprarola, at the Villa d'Este, and on the Cinecittà sound stages in Rome. To justify the Italian settings, he invented a town called Porto (or was it Monte?) Atena, but the play's constant references to Athens sound none the more persuasive. Even the Greekish character names clash with the Italian ambience. Further, the excellent production designer Luciana Arrighi, aware that scholars consider the fairies transmogrified pre-Christian deities, had them inhabit a ruined Etruscan temple, which, popping up in the quasi-Athenian woods, adds to our disorientation.

Take, on top of that, Hoffman's loony notion that because the bicycle was a novelty in the late 19th century, the lovers should escape to the enchanted woods on period bicycles. This becomes even more ridiculous when Puck swipes one of their bikes to circle the globe in record time, though on such a bike even Phileas Fogg would have needed more than 80 days. Stanley Tucci, an over-age and rather inept Puck, probably couldn't have made much headway with a ten-speed Schwinn. But his goat ears and kid (as in baby goat) hornlets are cute as a button or two.

David Strathairn feels ill at ease as Theseus, an Italian duke; as his feminist fiancée Hippolyta, Sophie Marceau is colorless. Dominic West is a good but somewhat bumpkinish Lysander, Christian Bale a rather stiff Demetrius, Calista Flockhart a sedulous Helena, and Anna Friel a letter-perfect Hermia. The good but essentially comic Rupert Everett is miscast as Oberon, but the big disaster is Michelle Pfeiffer as Titania. Looking lovelier than ever, she has no idea of how to read Shakespearean verse, but will no doubt garner raves.

The mechanicals are an even more motley crew than Shakespeare devised, with the able Bill Irwin and Max Wright making disappointing contributions. Roger Rees is fine as Peter Quince, trying desperately to cope, but Kevin Kline, a fine actor when controlled, goes over the top as Bottom. Still, whereas lesser hams are all ego and the hell with the part, Kline's problem is trying to get more out of it than is there. It was a good idea not to give him a full ass's head but only donkey makeup; the full ass's head belongs rightly to the director. **NR**

■ **MUSIC** ■

Curtain Calls

JAY NORDLINGER

THE New York musical season has drawn to a close, offering in its last weeks the great, the okay, and the ghastly.

In the third category, sadly, is the Ohio-born soprano **Kathleen Battle**, who gave a recital in Carnegie Hall. She may well be music's most pathetic case. Once a singer of dazzling skills, Battle has entered a decline that is painful to watch, and to hear. The dazzling skills have all but vanished; her worst qualities—including an annoying cutesiness—have come to the fore. In her present state, Battle doesn't so much sing the music as pantomime it. She gulps for air, indulges in the grossest interpretive liberties, and neglects her pitch. Her behavior on stage is . . . well, worrisomely peculiar. At Carnegie, one felt embarrassed for her, as though one were witnessing a mid-life crisis rather than taking in a recital.

■

Kathleen Battle, the once-impressive diva, is now in startling decline. Only 50, she seems already a figure from the past.

■

Nor is Battle above musical politics. Hardly. Despised throughout the business—her abusiveness toward colleagues and associates is legendary—she was fired from the Metropolitan Opera in 1994. It so happens that, the night before her recent recital, the Metropolitan had opened its production of Handel's *Giulio Cesare*, in which Battle once starred. For one of her recital encores, she pointedly chose an aria from that opera, and, in case anyone missed the point, she followed that with a spiritual that longs for a time in which "the world can't do me no harm." Battle, at 50, isn't despicable; she is pitiable. And she seems already—so prematurely—a figure of the past.

A few days after this spectacle came the New York recital debut of **Rodney Gilfry**, a young American baritone best known for singing Stanley Kowalski in Previn's *Streetcar Named Desire* and for his recordings of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and Brahms's *Requiem* (both under the conductor John Eliot Gardiner). In Weill Recital Hall, Gilfry sang an unusual and appealing program of French songs (Baroque and Impressionist) and contemporary American songs (including those of Ricky Ian Gordon, who beamed gratefully in the audience).

Gilfry has a lightish, flexible baritone, somewhat dry but perfectly serviceable. He doesn't have much of a low A-flat, or even much of a low B-flat, and his upper register is on the thin side; but he can handle virtually everything required of him. Seldom is he rigid or stentorian, and his intonation is rock-solid. He could use more colors on his palette—

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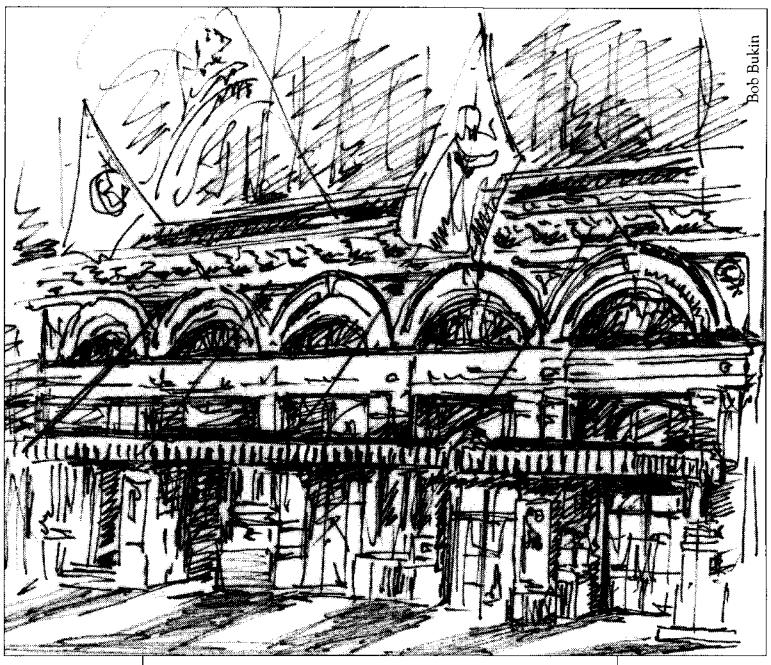
who couldn't?—but a fine musical sense can compensate for deficiencies of the throat. Gilfry obviously has a satisfying career ahead of him, and it is particularly heartening to have a singer eager to champion, for example, Rameau. It also doesn't hurt—in opera, especially—to be tall, handsome, and engaging.

The baritonal prize of the season, however, was **Matthias Goerne**, a German phenom who has devotees of the *Lied* (the German art song) in rapture. Some of them wonder whether we have in him the successor to (the unsucceedable, really) Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau. Goerne gave two recitals in Carnegie Hall with the pianist Alfred Brendel, all Schubert, including the bleak *Winterreise*, which one is supposed to assay only toward the twilight of a singing life, when one is full of wisdom, experience, and sighs.

The hell with that: Goerne is smart enough. And he has voice—and voice and voice, as the old saying goes. A freakishly gorgeous instrument isn't everything, but it counts for a lot, and anyone who encounters Goerne must first overcome the shock of the sound: so lush, so pure, so transfiguring. In fact, the voice is so lush that Goerne's singing sometimes verges on the indistinct, lost in a little wetland of sound. He also, understandably, has the tendency to try to honey every phrase, when singing more matter-of-factly might be more appropriate. But this complaint is on the order of finding fault in a supermodel: "Don't hate me because I'm beautiful," she pleads. And beauty is, indeed, often underrated in music, considered anti-intellectual (which is rot).


Bob Bukin

Carnegie Hall

Goerne knows this music inside out, too: He managed, in Carnegie Hall, to create the intimacy of a *Liederabend*—a quiet evening of song in, say, a salon—which is no mean achievement. His three solo recordings cannot, of course, reproduce such intimacy, but they accomplish as much as they can.

Alfred Brendel, Goerne's accompanist, took up a sort of residence at Carnegie this spring, performing recitals, concertos—even reading a selection of his own poetry. All of New York was at the feet of this bespectacled Teuton, hailing him as a giant, a sage, and a prophet.

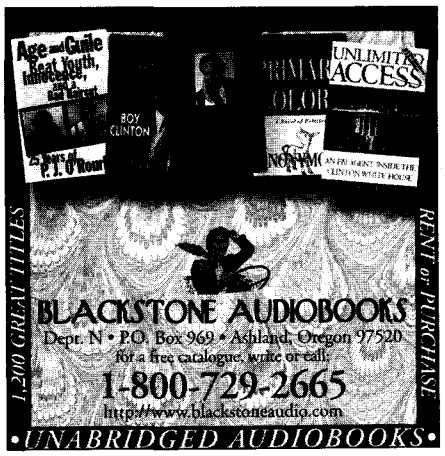
Brendel, it is true, is a good pianist. But the urge to lionize him is an indication that we live in a terrible age for pianists. There is today almost no pianist worth crossing the street for. Brendel ought to have his fans, as every creditable musician does, but a pantheon that includes him is a pantheon whose standards are too low. His playing is often tight and awkward, and he rarely produces anything like a singing line. His fingerwork can be poor, resulting in mush rather than articulation. He relies excessively on the sustaining pedal, that cover for a multitude of technical sins. His tone tends to be dead or brittle, as he draws his fingers slapdashedly away from the keys.

And yet he is capable of excellent playing—as was Rudolf Serkin, whom he resembles in many ways. When you have an inferior technique or a brazenly idiosyncratic style, and concentrate on the music of the Central European masters, which you perform with ostentatious gravity, you're apt to be lauded as cerebral—nice, huh? Brendel is now regarded as a pianistic holy man. And few are the living pianists who can match him—which is cause for distress.

Last, the city was treated to two concerts by the conductor **James Levine**—Battle's fellow Cincinnatian and erstwhile mentor—and his **Metropolitan Opera Orchestra**. So magnificent a machine has Levine built, they are now out of the pit and onto a proper stage, as well as into the recording studio.

Levine, quite simply, stands atop the conducting mountain. A onetime apprentice to the exacting and brilliant George Szell, leader of the Cleveland Orchestra from 1946 to 1970, he has by now proven himself the old man's heir. His concerts at Carnegie Hall included Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony, Mahler's *Lied von der Erde*, and Brahms's Second Symphony. Levine has developed in this orchestra a dark, burnished sound—more European, traditionally, than American. His Mozart, uncharacteristically, was ragged and bulled through—perhaps underrehearsed. The Mahler, however, was disciplined, muscular, and sonically thrilling. As for the Brahms, it was everything one could hope for—Szell-worthy, really, higher than which one can hardly go.

Levine, in his mid-fifties, seems at last to be getting his due, recognized as a titan in our midst. His audiences screamed and cheered and cried and stomped for him. With apologies to, oh, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, loudmouth dealmaker Donald Trump, and Yankee manager Joe Torre, Jimmy Levine is the King of New York. **NR**



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True Grit

NEW YORK, APRIL 20

WHATEVER one's reservations about Pat Buchanan-for-President, you've got to acknowledge the true grit of his rhetoric. One of these days, because that's the way world leaders are treated, the Clinton Library will publish in three volumes (four?) the foreign-policy pronouncements of William Jefferson. Backwards reels the mind in contemplation of this mass of contradictions and ambiguities; pity the poor political-science grad students who will have to go through it.

Here is the way Pat Buchanan handles foreign policy.

The setting, San Francisco's Commonwealth Club, the most active forum in the United States, which on a typical day sponsors a dozen events. The subject? "A Time for Truth About China." Here we go, and with only an occasional interruption, the objective here being stylistic rather than polemical:

—Buchanan says he doesn't want war with China or even confrontation, and reminds the audience he was with Nixon when the China curtains parted in 1972.

—But we are dealing with a country that ten years ago, fearing such disestablishment as was going on in Eastern Europe and Russia, decided to move in the tanks.

—But although it's correct to engage China, it's not correct to embrace its government as friend and partner given that it is an expansionist power hostile to our ideals. (Question: Expansionist power? Taiwan and Tibet don't count because China considers them as we would Hawaii and Alaska.)

—In the last decade we have sought to mollify China. Since 1990, Peking has been allowed to run up a trade surplus of $274 billion with the U.S. And the U.S. has supported World Bank and Asian Development Bank loans and has given China access to our supercomputers.

—Meanwhile, we have cut our defense spending, as a percentage of GNP, in half.

—China has meanwhile sold missiles to Iran and nuclear technology to Pakistan and occupied Mischief Reef in the Spratly Islands "astride" Japan's oil lifeline.

—China has fired missiles towards Taiwan intending intimidation.

—It has developed 18 ICBMs, 13 of them aimed at the U.S.

—China proceeds with cultural genocide against Christians, and this is inconsistent with business-as-usual.

—Clinton was a lamb when he visited China but now calls for condemning its human-rights policies in the U.N.

—China has expanded to 200 the missiles targeted on Taiwan. Forty-five missiles (Buchanan quotes *Atlantic Monthly* writer Paul Bracken) are all that is needed to paralyze Taiwan and threaten U.S. bases in Asia.

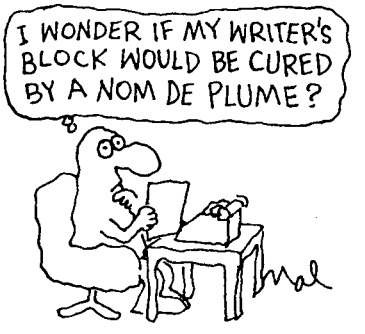
—China is clearly preparing for another crisis to force Taiwan back to the embrace of the Motherland. If the U.S. attempted to intervene, China "intends" to put at risk every U.S. warship and base between the Asian coast and Guam.

—We have been making policy on the basis of myths, the first of them that trade with China will dulcify Peking policy. That doesn't work: There was plenty of trade between North and South during our Civil War.

—The national greed for business in China is deluded. We sell more to "tiny Singapore." What do we sell to China, other than aircraft? Cotton, live animals, starches, fibers, meat, cereals, wood pulp, raw hides, skins, oil seeds, animal and vegetable fat, and fertilizer.

And then: "Now, I understand what China is doing; what I don't understand is what America is doing. U.S. trade policy today is impossible to defend in terms of U.S. strategic interests."

So what should we do? "Until China closes its concentration camps, stops coercive abortions, and ceases its persecution of Christians, Tibetans, and dissidents, Congress should suspend Most Favored Nation status and impose on all Chinese imports the same taxes China imposes on goods from the U.S.A." We should block the transfer of any new high-tech military technology, veto new loans to China from the World Bank, reject the admission of China to the World Trade Organization, and work for the admission of Taiwan.



We should rebuild our navy, develop our anti-missile technology, and declare that China's veto will not prevent us from giving that technology to Taiwan. If China doesn't halt its own missile build-up, we should initiate an embargo, which "would bring an instant currency and economic collapse in China."

The peroration was . . . full-throated.

There are, of course, reservations. If imports from China were forbidden, we'd have the equivalent of a $57 billion levy on American consumers. A central problem with our Taiwan policy is that Taiwan also insists it is a part of mainland China. A policy of no trade with countries in which human rights are violated means, e.g., no further trade with Singapore.

But it is 100-proof pleasure to hear a presidential candidate speak out so plainly on foreign policy questions.

The Pilots Are Really Sick

NEW YORK, APRIL 16

THE judge who ruled against the Allied Pilots Association was very weepy about where the dictates of his conscience took him. "What my oath requires me to do makes me sick to my stomach because a lot of decent men and women pilots are going to be hurt by this." Thus Judge Joe Kendall of Dallas on his ruling that American Airline pilots should come up with $46 million to reimburse the airline for damages done in ten days last February when, lo! they all got a mysterious illness that kept them from work.

The ruling of the judge rates special attention for several reasons, one of them that the union has to pay $46 million, which is $8 million more than it has in assets. As the chief union officer defiantly commented, though one supposes his eyes were moist when he said it, the day in which money would actually be given from the union to the company was a long way off. The plans, of course, are to begin with an appeal. But if that should fail, the union might be tempted to turn to the company and say something on the order of, Do you really want $46 million from us? In that case, add

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$146 million to the demands we will be making at the end of the present contract.

Still, the judgment is a milestone of sorts in the history of union accountability. It is one of the largest fines ever assessed. And the sentencing judge endeavored to make it clear that he was acting only out of a sense of duty, that he had nothing against the pilots themselves.

Yes, what about the individual American Airlines pilot?

"Joe, this is Allied Pilots, L.A. branch. You're scheduled to pilot Flight 804, LAX to JFK, tomorrow at ten. Well, you can't take that flight."

"Why not?—is this Al calling?"

"No. This is Henry. Al's sick."

"Gee, I'm sorry about that. Why don't I fly tomorrow?"

"Because you're sick too."

"Me sick? I never felt better in my life!"

"You're sick and you are not flying until I tell you you are no longer sick."

So the judge is genuinely sorry for Joe, who failed to show up in time to fly to New York because he was told to call in sick. Three hundred passengers assembled at the L.A. airport were also made sick. Some of them were less sick than others. Some had to wait only an hour or so to catch the TWA flight. Some missed a connecting flight to Rome. One got to New York too late to say goodbye to her mother, who was terminally sick.

The judge had issued a restraining order after four days, and that order had the effect of making the bug positively virulent, causing a sickness that resulted in the cancellation of 6,600 flights, derailing 600,000 passengers. The arithmetic done by the judge had to do with revenues lost by American Airlines after the restraining order was handed down. Nobody attempted to measure damages done to the disrupted plans of 600,000 people.

The judge may be sad about having to hand down the judgment but, really, he shouldn't be. The disappearance of accountability is a phenomenon of an age in which fewer and fewer people are held responsible for what they do. The list of those delinquencies is topped by the father who refuses to acknowledge his child or tries to duck the expenses of rearing him. In politics accountability can be exercised on Election Day, but there is a gross incongruity in what the voters can do to the politician and what the politician can do to the voters. Sometimes the very idea of accountability is moot. The voters will not again have a chance to "punish" William Clinton even if his Kosovo war ends with American casualties, added to the Kosovar casualties.

Some people guess that American Airlines pilots think it humiliating to affect to be sick when they aren't sick. They're right. It *is* humiliating, and it should also be costly.

Who Did It?

NEW YORK, APRIL 23

I WAS in St. Louis at a press conference and the inflamed question quickly came up: What about Colorado? The reporter rather hoped the dust would settle on—guns. This was the day of the shootings and much that we came to know later was as yet unknown. Might we just consolidate our emotions into gun-hate?

The reporter had covered closely the Missouri plebiscite earlier this month that called for licensing concealed handguns. The measure came very close to being adopted but at the last minute fell under heavy pressure that fastened mostly on a looseness in the language of the proposed law. Opponents of the handgun amendment cried out that if it were passed, people would be bringing their pistols to the football stadium and doing who-knows-what to referees who made the wrong calls. Four million dollars was spent in Missouri on the gun plebiscite and now we were trying to understand how/why two normal-looking, normal-sounding late-teenage boys took it into their heads to bring carnage to Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado.

The whole country scratched its head over that one and continues to do so. Guns are valuable hobgoblins in the scene, and there was a natural enthusiasm to identify the noxious agent in the tragedy. Guns were used, after all, to kill students and a teacher. Terrible weapons, semiautomatic weapons that spit out fire at near–machine-gun speed. If only we could just blame it all on guns, as the British had their own catastrophe in Dunblane and thought to exorcise the memory of it by passing a law that simply eliminates handguns, or seeks to do so.

But immediately after, complicating factors in the Littleton episode got in the way of any cherchez-la-femme reductionism. Yes, there were guns, and they were sold by a neighboring gun merchant. But there were laws that prohibited what nevertheless proceeded to happen, several echelons of laws. You had to be over 21 to carry a handgun, and no guns are allowed on school property, period, and there was an armed officer on the premises.

Then there was the matter of weapons unrelated to guns. No guns were used, after all, in the slaughter in Oklahoma City four years ago. Explosives were used. In our reasonable hunger for palliative measures we undertook to keep beady eyes on "suspicious" sales of ammonium nitrate, a fertilizer that can be used to produce explosives. But, on reflection, that was a poetic gesture. People don't tend to accumulate great reserves of fertilizer intending to blow up buildings.

The little monsters of Littleton made themselves several dozen bombs. At this writing we don't know whether anyone was wounded by these bombs, which drew on Sears, Roebuck components which in fatal mixtures create the equivalent of hand grenades. And then two entire days after the conflagration the police found yet another bomb, in the kitchen, whose principal component was propane gas. The intention, the sheriff said, was to "blow up the whole school."

In that collection of workaday garbage transmogrified into an arsenal of death we are left with only one thing to stare at.

What demon possessed those two boys?

On Thursday much attention was given to Internet games. Several of these feature bloodhound activity with gunfire at evasive targets, from which we get the idea of moving bodies and dogged sharpshooter practice. Ideological traceries of racism and Nazism were spotted, playing on the trench-coated rodomontade of the young killers, who wore swastikas here and there. There was talk that special objects of their chaotic rage would be blacks and athletes, but only one of the victims was black, and inasmuch as almost every high-school student engages in athletic activity, it did not establish very much that several of those who died had been active in sports.

Then too, the two killers intended to end their own lives. That is pretty unusual: In the West, the tradition, if that is the word for it, is to escape. You just don't see 17-year-olds who want to kill everybody in sight including themselves.

So what was it? None of the usual suspects serves our purpose, not guns, not broken families, not ghetto lives, not desperation, hunger, illness, clinical derangement, drugs, booze.

Was it a special fever inseminated by the Internet's galactic fare? *Not so fast,* or you'll run into the Big Guns of the ACLU, who tell us there is no correlation between sex in books and on screen and illicit sexual activity.

What are we left with?

Let it be called, simply, a tragic anomaly. —UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

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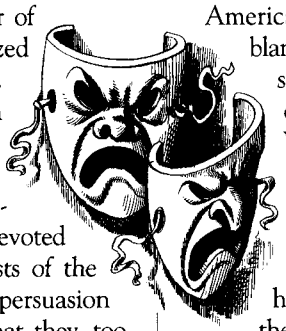
FLORENCE KING

I AM constitutionally incapable of shedding a tear, either real or crocodile, over the Littleton massacre. When you've seen one pile of teddy bears you've seen them all; when you've read one cover story blurbed "WHY?" you've read them all; and when you've heard one best-and-brightest "articulate" teenager being interviewed you have heard everything.

This time, however, I am not alone in my cynicism. Everybody is searching earnestly for "root causes" and the "Lesson of Littleton," but under the requisite sensitivity lurks a rogue voice whispering a cold truth: One of the best-kept secrets of American life is the number of people who have fantasized blowing up their high schools.



That this forbidden thought has begun to peep out from some unexpected quarters is proof of how widespread it is. On talk shows devoted to Littleton, numerous guests of the thoughtful 'n' concerned persuasion seemed driven to confess that they, too, were teased in high school, including a plump, yellow-haired psychologist named Butterworth who made a jocular but revealing remark to Geraldo about having been the butt of adolescent jokes because of the combination of his appearance and his name.

Judy Mann, the *Washington Post*'s resident backpage feminist, came across as uncharacteristically brusque in a column called "High Schools Are the Real Problem." Predictably, most of her animus was aimed at the cult of macho jocks and the cheerleader-as-handmaiden that defeats the dream of perfect sexual equality, but she zapped high-school culture as "sick, demeaning, and depressing" and aligned herself with "generations of young people forced to coexist in large public schools that many of them hate."

That's pretty good for a tolerant liberal, but when Bill Maher turns into a crusty curmudgeon we know something is up. The host of *Politically Incorrect* is actually nothing of the kind and neither is his show, but his Littleton outburst was pure H. L. Mencken:

> We now live in a culture that not only glorifies violence, but even worse, glorifies high school. . . . We have this upside-down culture that panders to youth in a way that is harmful to kids and terribly boring to adults. . . . It's okay to adore youth, but to pretend it has something to tell us is ridiculous. . . . [H]igh school isn't real life. It's just four years of embarrassment and boredom and pettiness, where nothing much happens; sort of like the Carter administration.

If most of Europe's intractable geopolitical problems can be blamed on the idealism of Woodrow Wilson, most of America's social problems can be blamed on our glorification of high school. Interestingly, both started around the same time. Before World War I high school as we have come to know and hate it did not exist. The vast majority of Americans stopped school after the eighth grade, leaving high school to the middle class—the *real* middle class, not today's deluded alpine bell curve. High schools, as their name implied, were essentially public prep schools, and excellent ones at that. The tears I can't shed for Littleton I can easily shed for myself when I read descriptions of third-year Classical Greek in old high-school curricula.

Under this sensible hierarchical arrangement the two groups guaranteed to hate each other parted company before they reached the inferiority-complex stage of adolescent development. The minority of nerds, drips, and brains were in high school, while the majority of studs, sexpots, and dunces were spread out in the working force, making mutually assured psychological destruction logistically impossible.

Then along came the usual suspects, democracy and equality. More and more people went to high school, until a generational peasantry formed. As with all revolutions, everything got a new name. Youngsters became "teenagers"; school, grounds, and diploma became "plant," "campus," and "degree." The resulting Omnium Gatherum was called "the best years of your life," and cliques erupted like zits.

Nearly everyone has been warped by the democratized high school. The rudeness encountered in Tech Support is widely viewed as a revenge of the nerds, but I would go further and attribute computer viruses and even the millennium scare to smart kids getting even; some genius out there has known all along how to fix Y2K but he's not talking.

And then there's me. If I had had private tutors this column might be called "Melanie's Corner," but instead I went to high school where I forged my credo: "Whatever the majority is doing has got to be wrong." High school, where I became an anarcho-elitist from overexposure to friendly "student leaders." High school, where the girls who recited Mickey Rooney's wives in the cafeteria made fun of me for reciting Henry VIII's wives in history class, prompting my development as a misogynistic feminist.

IRONICALLY, the people who are warped most by high school are those golden lads and girls who are *not* warped by high school. Being popular at this stage of life means subscribing to adolescent tastes and priorities that can never be shaken off. When the star athlete's brief gaudy hour is finished he turns into the roly-poly Maytag repairman sunk in puzzled loneliness, wondering why no one needs him. The luscious cheerleader who told brainy girls "I'd love to get my hands on your hair" ends up looking like Medusa top and bottom, her varicose veins springing in all directions just like her frizzy home-dye job. Voted "Most Likely to Succeed" in high school, they end up as lost winners who can't figure out what hit them even though they were once forced to memorize it for the lit test: "Golden lads and girls all must, / As chimney-sweepers, come to dust."

A generational peasantry, their country's pride, when once unleashed, can never be denied. If we really want to save "the culture" we should decentralize adolescence by abolishing the democratized high school and return to the eighth-grade diploma. It's all my parents had, and they were more literate than today's "college" grads.

It won't happen, of course. Our schools are finished along with everything else, but never let it be said that I don't have an occasional constructive fantasy. **NR**

Miss King can be reached at P. O. Box 7113, Fredericksburg, Va. 22404.

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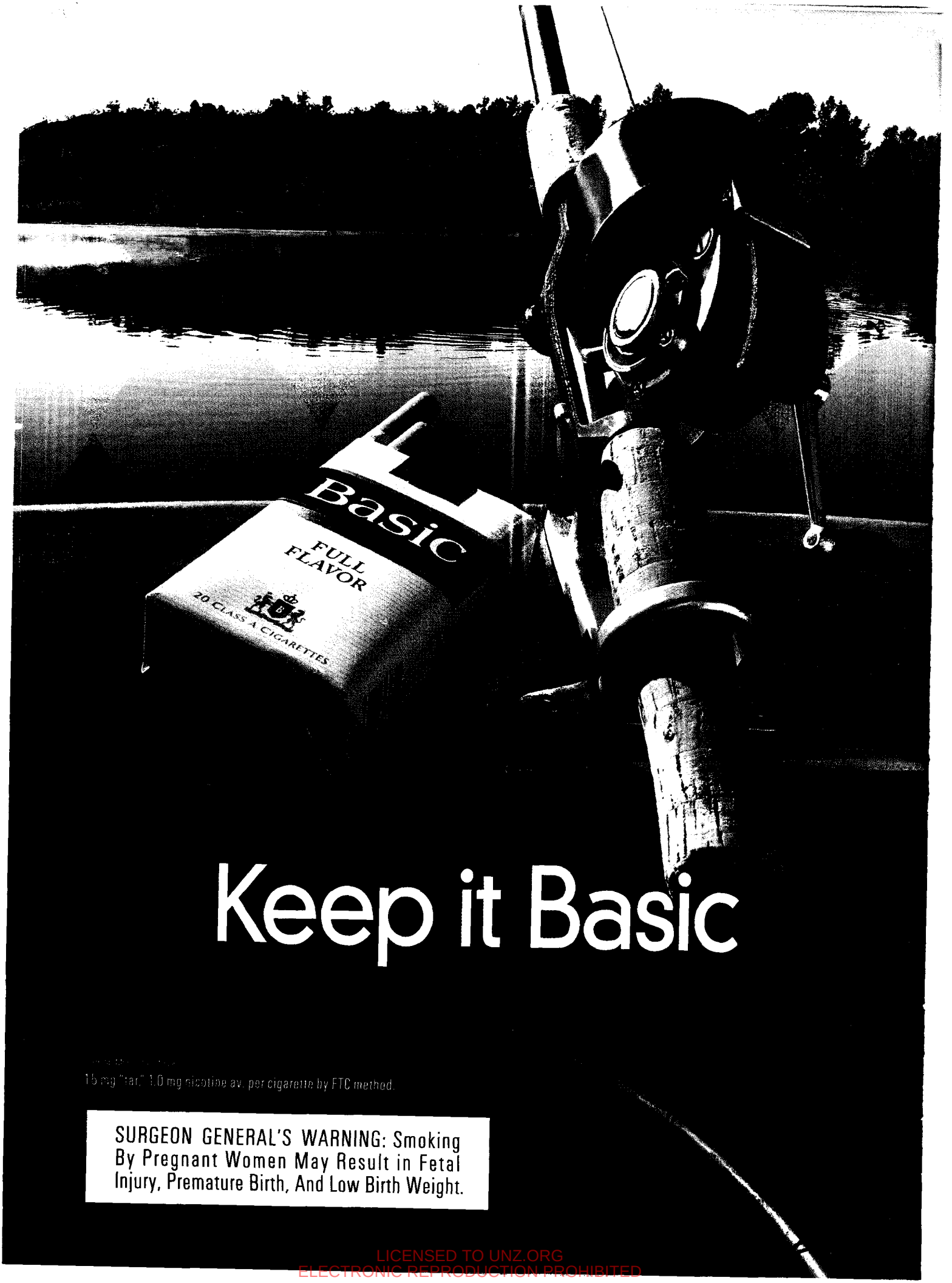

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15 mg "tar," 1.0 mg nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Smoking By Pregnant Women May Result in Fetal Injury, Premature Birth, And Low Birth Weight.

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